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THE 10-HOUR LAW

"UNCONSTITUTIONAL"

The Supreme Court of the United States decided on the 17th of this month that the New York State ten-hour law is unconstitutional. The case that gave rise to the decision was that of Lockner versus The State of New York. Lockner is an employing baker in the city of Utica, and was found guilty at a trial court, of permitting an employee to work in his bakery more than sixty hours in a week, and fined \$50. The case was appealed, and the Court of Appeals of the State upheld the law and affirmed the judgment of the trial court by finding Lockner guilty. The ground upon which the Court of Appeals upheld the law was that the measure was "within the police powers of the State for the protection of the public health from improper conditions surrounding the preparation of food." Being finally appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, the decision is now reversed. The law is pronounced unconstitutional. Four judges—Holmes, Harlan, Day and White—dissented. Judge Harlan, who wrote the dissenting opinion, pronounced the Court's decision one of the most important in a century; to quote him literally, he said: "No more important decision has been rendered in the last century." The judge is right. This particular decision does mark an epoch. It does so because, as we shall show from the language of the decision itself, that which the Court did pass and plant its decision upon was not a matter of LAW, but a matter of FACT. It is in the finding of that particular fact that the decision marks an epoch.

In order to bring out this transcendent feature of the decision it will be necessary, first, to consider the law in the case, as handled by the Court itself. We shall do so in successive articles:

"FREEDOM OF CONTRACT"

More than once in the columns has the law of contract been considered. A contract is an agreement between two parties upon a certain subject, on which their minds meet. In order for there to be a contract, both contracting parties must be aware of what they are doing, neither must be deceived by the other, and both must be free—free to accept or reject. Where any one of these three essentials to a contract is missing, there is no contract; if the two contracting parties had different things in mind, there is no contract; and the contract is null, it is even a badge of fraud, if either party was either deceived by the other, or acted under duress. It is only with the last of these three junctures that we are concerned—the juncture of one of the contracting parties not being free, acting under duress. Such a juncture deprives the alleged contract of validity and takes it out of the category of a free contract—a requisite category for validity, as the term "freedom of contract" implies. The Court recognized this principle of law and equity. That it did so, appears from the following passage in the decision:

"The right to purchase or to sell labor is part of the liberty protected by this amendment [the Fourth Amendment to the Federal Constitution], UNLESS THERE ARE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH EXCLUDE THE RIGHT."

The circumstances in the instance of the workman in general, the employee of Lockner in particular, "exclude the right." No special economic theory is needed to understand that Lockner's employee was not free. Common sense will dictate the conclusion that no man will submit to more than ten hours steady work each day, from week to week in a bakery or confectionery establishment, leastways for the petty wage paid in those establishments, unless superior force compels him. No man will submit to such work, unless he is under duress. And if, on top of all, the wages are what they are, insufficient to restore even a normal more than ten-hours' expenditure of life-tissue, infinitely less sufficient to restore the time expended in such unsanitary establishments as capitalist-run bakeries,—if on top of all, such are the conditions of work, then, whatever else that man may be who "contracts" for more than ten hours' steady work each week, such a man is not FREE. He is no freer to contract than the wayfarer is when a footpad covers with his pistol and orders to "stand and deliver." Lockner's employee was not free; the contract between the two falls outside of

the category of "freedom of contract"; the circumstances "exclude the right"; they are a violation of the equity that underlies the Fourth Amendment of the Federal Constitution guaranteeing the "freedom of contract."

And yet the Court decided that the contract was valid.

Why?

EQUITY TORN TO TATTERS.

There is a tenet of equity jurisprudence that decrees that none shall profit by his own wrong. The principle is one of high morality. It is intended to checkmate the spirit illustrated in Shylock's posture that the seal, on the document which he had, precluded all inquiry into its justice, or inhumanity. The tenet of equity that none shall profit by his own wrong cuts through all the red-tape of technicalities, that wrongdoers may set up in the pursuit of their crime. If the foundation of an act is a wrong, no pretext, however valid on its face, shall excuse the act, least of all uphold it. On the contrary, the foundation of an act being a wrong, the act itself becomes all the more heinous.

Instances of acts of this nature occur every day in capitalist society. Employers there are, for instance, who seek to justify their employing of little children on the plea that the parents need the money; the employment of little children is profitable to the capitalist class: the act is wrong, but, in order to justify it, the capitalist class brings about the conditions that drive parents to send their children to work when they should be at play or at school: thus the capitalist profits by his own wrong, even justifies a subsequent wrong with the grievous results of a previous one. Another instance is that of excessive hours of labor. The capitalist first commits the wrong of his social system that keeps the workman at wages too low to live:

...and the capitalist is willing to profit by his own wrong; he justifies it, saying: "If the employee desires to earn the extra money which arises from working longer than the prescribed time his 'thrift' should not be interfered with." The case of Lockner versus the State of New York, and which the Supreme Court of the United States just decided by pronouncing the ten-hour law unconstitutional, is the freshest illustration.

Lockner employed a baker more than ten hours. He was profiting by his own wrong—the wrong of which the whole capitalist class is guilty—the wrong of keeping human beings at wages below the requirements of civilized man. Unable to earn at regular hours enough to live on, the employee was driven to work at longer hours, and the employer justified the act on the principle that if a man "desires to earn extra money from overtime he should be left free to do so." Lockner's conduct flew in the face of the principle of equity jurisprudence quoted above. Did the Court deny the principle when it upheld Lockner? No, the Court accepted the principle, as appears from the passages that refer to the duties of legislatures to protect morality.

This notwithstanding, notwithstanding Lockner signed against the moral precept that none shall profit by his own wrong, the Court upheld him.

Why?

"POLICE POWERS"

The "police power" of the State is a technical term. It has no reference to policemen, it does not refer to any power that these may be clad with under the law. The "police power" of organized society is an unwritten, an implied law. It is a power intended to safeguard society against the hardships of the letter of the law. Under the clause "police power," the government may cut through all legal red-tape and annul "legal" relations if such relations are against public policy; if they are harmful to health. A man may have title, for instance, to a rickety house which emits pestilential exhalations; the "police powers" of the State may, however, step in and tear down that house. It may do so without compensation. It does so on the principle of the "police power" vested in it to protect the health of the community. Obviously, the questions that arise under the head of "police power" are not matters of LAW but of FACT. Is it a fact or is it not that a certain thing is injurious to

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WAGES AND CAPITAL

What They Are—How the Price of Labor Is Fixed.

(From the Sydney, Australia, "People.")

Wages is the portion of the value produced by labor which is returned to the worker in exchange for the expenditure of his labor power. When a man works a day for wages, he virtually sells to the capitalist who employs him one day's labor power. The product of the day's labor belongs to the capitalist; but he pays for the day's labor-power its market price, fixed by the competition of laborers and of employers in the labor market, exactly as the price of other commodities is fixed in their market. The price of a commodity tends always to be equal to the average necessary cost of reproducing it. So the price of a day's labor power tends always to be equal to the average necessary cost of reproducing it—that is, to the cost of a day's living for the average worker; this must include, of course, the living of those dependent upon him; and it will depend largely upon the standard of living generally prevailing in the locality at the time. But the average cost of the worker's living is never equal to the average product of his labor. The difference remains in the hands of the capitalist as profit, interest, or rent-surplus value.

When we say, conventionally, that Labor and Capital are necessary to each other, every well instructed person knows what we mean—that the laborer, mental and manual, must use or consume the product of their labor (which is the real substance of capital) in order to further produce. But capital, in the strictly scientific sense of the term, is unnecessary. "Capital is wealth used productively with a view to profit by sale of the product," therefore, if capital is entirely wrong.

The above definition is that of the capitalist economists, not ours, although we fully agree with it, and that is the reason we advocate the abolition of the

capitalist system, and the substitution of the Socialist system, under which production will be carried on—not with a view to profit—but for use only. Seeing that capital is getting into larger aggregates and fewer hands every day, and causing starvation and misery to millions of the creators of capital, we think the correct meaning of this term should be kept well to the front of our propaganda, as a preventive to the spread of false notions.

Labor force, which all men possess in common with each other, is the one thing necessary. This applied to nature, mentally and physically, is all that is needed for the supply of all human needs, and there is no necessity why any human being should want, seeing that the sole cost of these things is the Labor embodied in them, and there is plenty of labor everywhere.

The Human Race—the workers, mental and manual—in its work of emancipation itself must reckon on the unswerving opposition of the clerical, as well as on the legal, literary, and pseudo-labor myrmidons of capitalism. We admit that with the exception of the last individuals of these classes who have risen morally above their environment, do good service to the great cause of the Social Revolution, but they are only exceptions, and do not alter the fact that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself.

WHY, OH, WHY?!

The spouters, newspapers, leagues, etc., etc., who are advocating "municipal ownership" as a means of escaping capitalist domination and tyranny, have not explained to date why Andrew Carnegie, upon whom, next to Rockefeller, they delight in venting their venom, has praised Mayor Dunne of Chicago and spoken highly of municipal ownership in general. Nor have they told us why it is that Bird S. Coler, whose banking firm makes a speciality of municipal bonds, is said to be the titular head of the "municipal ownership" movement here in the East. A little light on the cause of capitalist interest in this capitalist destroying (sic) "crusade," will prove an eye-opener to deluded workmen.

MAY DAY

Its History and Significance—To Be Celebrated in Cooper Union.

The Socialist Labor Party will this year, as in the past, celebrate International Labor Day by holding a mass meeting at Cooper Union on Monday evening, May 1.

May Day was at first instituted by the proletariat of the world as a day of demonstration in favor of a universal eight-hour day. To-day it has assumed a far greater significance. Unlike the modern Saturnalias held by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class on "Labor" day, May Day now stands for the international solidarity of labor in its efforts to overthrow the capitalist system and inaugurate Socialism in all lands, in accordance with the principles enunciated by Marx and Engels, and expounded in this country on the economic and political fields, by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

Other organizations pretending to stand for the working class will also demonstrate on May Day in this city and country. For instance, the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, whose representatives repudiated the principles of international Socialism by presenting a resolution against the unrestricted immigration of BACKWARD RACES, will celebrate May Day. So also will the so-called "progressive" labor organizations who, while proclaiming the solidarity of labor in all countries, support the Gompers' division of the working class on craft lines in this country. These organizations are bogus organizations, who decerate May Day in order to secure votes and the plums at the bestowal of Gompers. Beware of them; shun their meetings!

The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party are urging their members to redouble their efforts and make the coming May Day demonstration one that will send a chill down the back of the misleaders and oppressors of labor. They expect great things between this May Day and the next in

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NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE

OUTLOOK

Fall River, Mass., April 22.—Dixie Land may be the "land of cotton, cinnamon seed and sandy bottom," and a few other things, such as child labor, poverty, and capitalist oppression, of which the minstrels fail to sing, but this is the town where we weave and spin the cotton, and old Dixie soon will not be in it, if we keep on winning "glorious victories" (as labor fakir, Matt Hart, of New Bedford, calls them), with our pure and simple American Federation of Labor form of trades union, and having our wages cut down and labor intensified in a progressive (cow's tail style) ratio to the number of "victories" won. A few more "labor leader" Bob Howards and Joe Jacksons, elected to the legislature on capitalist tickets, another "flying wedge" movement or two to help some ambitious millionaire shoe manufacturer advertise his \$3.50 shoes, and an "arbitrated" strike or so, to put the final kibosh on us, and our New England textile capitalists will have their Dixie confers skinned to death on the exploitation of wage slaves. The Southrons will have to see that their mills are organized and learn the trick of using the labor fakirs of the pure and simple trades unions to bamboozle their employees, if they do not wish to be beaten at the game.

In a letter on the situation during the strike last fall, the writer stated that: "The mill workers are reaping the fruits of capitalism, and wondering why the fruit turns to ashes in their mouths. The operatives have shown splendidly that they possess considerable solidarity and are willing to fight hard against further degradation, but, if they are to allow themselves to continue to uphold capitalism and pin their faith to a pure and simple trades union which admits the 'right' of the boss to skin them as long as he doesn't skin them too much—on the economic field—while voting the governmental power into the hands of their masters on the political field, they will have gained nothing from this struggle but another bitter lesson in the school of experience."

That this is all that was gained as a result of the "settlement" by Governor Douglas, for whom they voted under the guidance of the pure and simple "labor leaders," is shown by the present low wages, the attempt to add to the number of looms operated by each weaver, and the reduction of the price paid per cut, on the ground that longer bobbins make weaving easier. Even from the mouths of the labor fakirs themselves comes the admission that things are worse than they were before our last "victory," as witness the statements of Gompers and Golden at Lawrence, where the latter declared:

"Unless there is a radical change in the schedule of wages paid the operatives at Fall River, there will be a reopening of the strike there next summer."

Fall River is to the cotton manufacturing industry of New England what Providence is to the woolen. If conditions and wages go down here they drop everywhere else. The workers in the woolen portion of the textile industry are just now laying low. They have plenty of grievances but are biding their time and will later again revolt. The cotton workers, however, have been getting it "in the neck" so badly that they are perpetually on the anxious seat and the spirit of discontent is abroad among them—and with good reason.

Since the "settlement" of the great strike of last year, there have been strikes among the weavers at the Barnard, Davol, Stafford, Merchants, and other mills, where the twelve and one-half per cent reduction was made more unbearable by attempts at further reductions of the price per cut paid the weavers, ranging from ten to as high as twenty-six per cent. The weavers who were formerly running eight looms were told that they could, with the aid of the electric stop motion, or the longer bobbins, now run ten or twelve looms at the reduced price and make as much with but "little harder" work. Those who tried it found they couldn't. The result has been intermittent strikes, general discontent, and continuous dickering and parleying with the bosses, with the usual result—conditions growing worse all the time.

The fact that, after all they have gone through in the past nine months, so many of the operatives are still willing to vigorously protest, even to the point of striking, shows that they possess a

good spirit of resistance, which, if rightly directed, would lead to great results. This spirit of resistance makes all the more glaring the treachery of those misleaders who, having gained the weavers' confidence, deliberately help to keep them blindly groping along the same old disastrous course, instead of taking advantage of their position to teach the weavers to understand the real lessons of the economic struggle. These misleaders prefer to follow this course, instead of enabling the weavers to see through the capitalist cry of "fairness" to both sides, and the farce of arbitration, thereby helping them to catch onto the falseness of the pretended friendship of capitalists of the Governor Douglas type, as illustrated in the outcome of his famous "settlement," which gave the bosses a chance to get their m's going under any conditions they chose to impose, and failed to prevent discrimination against men who were not wanted. These misleaders prefer to follow this course, instead of helping the rank and file get wise to the game of sending a "labor" leader to the South, as was done with Mr. Tansley, in order to have him "report" on conditions in a way to convey the impression to the Fall River operatives that they ought to be highly satisfied, seeing that Georgia has conditions which Massachusetts wouldn't tolerate for a moment, and that consequently our conditions are so superior, as to rank with those of Paradise. Finally, these misleaders prefer this course to teaching the weavers to exercise their power in the political field, not in capitalist controlled "flying wedges," but in a class conscious movement of the workers, which would put the workers into possession of the law-making power and enable them to dictate terms, instead of having to beg for hearings and concessions from the representatives of their masters, whose material interest it is to lose everything possible. These very "leaders" in whom the textile workers have placed confidence, hold language which, were it not so devilishly treacherous, as shown in its disastrous effects, would be ridiculously senseless, in view of the bitter experiences made every day by the very workers who are expected to swallow it, as though it were the wisdom of an oracle, not to be gainsaid.

The great strike is over—for a while—but the fight against oppression still goes on. The class struggle cannot be downed by fake "settlements." As already hinted, we, particularly the weavers, are worse off than ever since our last "victory," a la Douglas. Our wages are lower, our work harder, and our cost of living higher. There are scores of weavers in this city who have not earned \$200 since January, 1904. This is an indication of how "prosperity" under capitalism strikes the cotton worker. The usual factors which work to our undoing in the capitalist robber system have been at work. These factors are improved high-speed machinery, the scramble of the army of unemployed for work (enabling the capitalists to intensify the labor of those employed), the consequent immense productiveness of industry, the rapid development of similar textile conditions in competing countries, the miserable pittance paid to the working class in the form of wages, preventing us from buying back and consuming any considerable portion of our products; all this, combined with the fact that stock-gamblers had forced up the price of raw cotton, led, first to a so-called over-production and next, to a desire on the part of our particular set of masters to put the screws a bit harder upon us and thereby reduce the cost of production, so as to be able to undersell their competitors in the markets of the world without lessening their own profits.

Of course, the few of us who have been reading the literature of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party, know how to interpret our experiences. We understand that the secret of our predicament lies in the private ownership by stock-holding capitalists, of the machinery of production, of the products of our labor, and, consequently, of our means of life. We are accordingly working toward the time when our class shall have attained sufficient knowledge and sense to join with the Socialist Labor Party on the political field and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance on the economic field, and abolish the capitalist system altogether.

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RED LETTER DAY

TO THE READERS OF THE WEEKLY PEOPLE

May 1st is INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY.

Our readers of the East, West, North and South—of EVERYWHERE—are going to unite on that day for one great purpose, to send in subscriptions to THE WEEKLY PEOPLE. THE PEOPLE is owned and controlled entirely by a working class organization, the Socialist Labor Party. In all its years of existence, The People has never been influenced by capital nor by graft, and it has never received favor or support from any false leader of labor; but it has always held up the beacon that threw a true light on labor's path. The WEEKLY PEOPLE certainly is worthy of labor's support.

No worthy man will shirk his duty, and when we call upon you of all our states and several other countries, we want to see all respond en masse on INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY. Every reader should be inspired to join in the greatest united effort our people have ever made, and let all the mails on Red Letter Day come laden with subscriptions from every quarter. Only a few days are left until May 1st. It is time to hustle for Red Letter Day subscriptions. Let every one do his part in this work. Each should send in one subscription on Red Letter Day. If you are ever going to do something for the Weekly People, do it NOW. Let no one rest upon his laurels.

As a fitting reward for a little greater effort on your part, we offer you an opportunity to get one of the best books of the modern labor movement. These books are interesting, printed on good paper, in good clear type, and all are well bound in cloth.

To every one who will send in THREE YEARLY (or that equivalent in half yearly) Weekly People subscriptions, along with the below "Red Letter Day" blank, we will give his or her choice of the following books:

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"WEEKLY PEOPLE RED LETTER DAY." May 1, 1905

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AN ADDRESS

To The Members of The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance,

By DANIEL DE LEON.

Fellow-members of the S. T. & L. A.: From several of my fellow-members of the S. T. & L. A., letters have come to me asking whether, if our national convention, which meets early next June at Lynn, Mass., decides to send delegates to the industrial convention, that has been called to meet in Chicago on June 27th, I would consent to form part of the delegation.

Existing conditions render it imperative upon me to answer the question with something more than "yes" or "no"; and also that not those only who ask, but our whole membership should know. Moreover, this is the time to speak, and to speak fully, and I shall be all the more pointed because I am of the opinion that the occasion raised by the proposed Chicago convention excludes the idea of "instructions". Even under ordinary circumstances "instructions" are unsatisfactory. Where they are needed, they are worthless; where they are not needed, they are superfluous. He who wishes to evade his instructions can always find a loop-hole; no instruction net is imaginable through which a slippery customer could not squeeze out; on the other hand, the platform of an organization, together with its traditions, should be "instructions" enough, both to guide a delegate, and by which his organization can hold him responsible. Instructions, accordingly, will not stand at so critical a period as the one that the Labor Movement of the land is now traversing. For another thing, just because these times are critical, shifting conditions are apt to cause different interpretations of identical terms. The same term may mean materially different things in different mouths. Accordingly, nothing short of a "confession of faith", so to speak, can offer a guarantee either to a delegate that he is understood by his organization, or to his organization that it is understood by him. Such a confession of faith I shall now make.

The argument is frequently heard: "The privately owned and steadily improving mechanism of production and distribution as steadily displaces Labor; an excess of supply in the Labor-Market has two inevitable results—first, it is bound to lower the price (wages) of Labor, consequently false is the economic foundation of a strike for better pay, such an attempt is foredoomed to failure; secondly, the excess of idle Labor is a reserve quarry upon which the capitalist can draw with more or less ease for the forces that he needs to take the places of strikers; the two reasons combined point to the inevitable present and increased future impotence of the economic organization, or Union."

The reasoning is only partially true, substantially false. How false the reasoning is may be incidentally judged from the circumstance that, although the leaders of "pure and simple" Unionism are not generally as disregarding of appearances as were the late P. M. Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Bobby Howard of the Spinners' Union, who flouted their affluence in the public eye, it is well known that they all amass a fortune, provided their incumbency be long enough. Where do they get it? The capitalist does not pay for nothing. What does he pay them for? He pays them for keeping the Union stuck fast in the ruts where the failure, pointed out in the above defective reasoning, is natural and inevitable. And why does he pay? Just because, instead of failure, success would crown the efforts of the Union if, instead of the wheels of its train being deep in the ruts of muddy ground, they stood upon the smooth steel-tracks of the revolutionary road-bed. The failure to grasp what may be termed the Social topography of Capitalism in a thoroughly capitalist nation like America, is accountable for the failure of shallow men to grasp the power, and, with it, the mission of Unionism.

It goes without saying that the Union, whose goal is harmony between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class, stands upon economically and sociologically false foundation when it strikes for better pay: to grant capitalist premises and then bristle up against their results can obviously be followed only by failure; it is a foot-in-the-mouth posture. But it does not equally follow that the Union, whose goal is the overthrow of Capitalism, stands upon equally economic and sociologic false foundation when it strikes for better pay. To expect an unsupported ball to rest on an inclined plane, let alone rise higher, is absurd: the expectation reveals a lack of knowledge of the "lay of the land"; but it is not, therefore,

absurd to expect the ball to hold its own and roll up to the top, if, the "lay of the land" being known, the necessary measures are taken to counteract the law of gravitation, and propel the ball upward to where it can be brought into stable equilibrium.

The comparison brings out the fallacy that underlies the plausible claim of the labor-fakirs and the "intellectuals" that the Union can only attend to "present needs", the "needs of the moment", and that all attempts to broaden the Union's vision is "fine-spun theory" that can not engage the Union-man's attention. The plight that "pure and simple" Unionism has left the Working Class in should be a sufficient answer—unless the position is taken that the emancipation of the Working Class is an impossibility, leastwise by itself. This alternative must be dismissed: it is untrue to historic evolution. The plight that "pure and simple" Unionism has left the Working Class in proves that, not unless the mission of Unionism is kept in mind, in other words, not unless the Union is switched upon the revolutionary track, can the ball be expected even to keep its place on the inclined plane of the capitalist hill, but will ever roll back, down to the bottom, where it now is.

At this point the sapient "Intellectual" sneers. His loose grasp of the Social Question immediately raises before his eyes the police, militia, military and galling guns on paper of the capitalist mechanism of government, and causes him to give the grotesquest of interpretations to the Marxian principle that "The Labor Movement is essentially political." He jumps to the conclusion that the ballot is all that is wanted. The "Intellectual" seems not to realize that the identical police, militia, military and galling guns on paper will at the right moment bar his own way at the hustings—unless he becomes a political fakir, in other words, sacrifices the emancipation of Labor to personal political preferment and personal glitter. The light-weight "Intellectual" is too much possessed with what Marx termed "parliamentary idiosyncrasy" to heed, or is too bent upon his own personal advancement, to preach and act up to the fact. The "political aspect" of the Labor Movement lies in its revolutionary NATURE, not in any of the methods that it might adopt; nor is there, despite the importance of the ballot, anything more cravenly reactionary than the ballot, without MIGHT to back it up. That MIGHT nothing can supply to Labor except the class-conscious, and, consequently, revolutionary economic organization of the Working Class—and that might would be simply to the purpose.

In America, capitalist society has reached fullest development—politically as well as economically. For that very reason, paradoxical as the statement may appear, Capitalism, so far from being strongest in America, is here most vulnerable. The day when all the means of production and distribution will be under one hat is only a theoretical day: the feudal grandees of modern America are waging a positive White and Red Roses mortal feud among themselves; coupled with that are the freedoms—political, of speech and of the press—that the country still enjoys, and that are enjoyed in none other to the extent that they are enjoyed with us. These are conditions that can bloom only in a country of untrammelled Capitalism. They are so many weapons that lie ready at hand for the Union; but they are weapons that either break in the Union's hand, or whose points are turned against itself, if used for any but an uncompromising revolutionary purpose. There is not an industry—the larger ones conspicuously, the smaller ones substantially so—that is not criminally guilty, even under capitalist laws,—as shown in these very days by the revelations on the Gas Company in this city, the Equitable Life, the Standard Oil, etc.—purely a feature of well-rounded capitalist society; consequently, there is not an industry before whom a revolutionarily conducted strike would stand impotent as the strikers of "pure and simpledom" do. Moreover, the floating mass of wild-eyed "reformers", now missionless, will have found its mission: visionary as the "reformer" is, his conduct ever disturbs capitalist equilibrium from within: the straightforward and well-aimed blows of Labor on the economic field would fire the "reformer" into antics most perilous to the capitalist concern involved: the simultaneous political unity of Labor, possible only then, would add grist to the mill of the tribulations of the capitalist establish-

ment struck against: finally, what with all that, and the further fact, a fact of deepest significance, that—as betrayed by the above referred to Gas, Equitable Life, Standard Oil, etc., squabbles—there is not a capitalist magnate whom some other magnate is not "lying in wait for," and must "lie in wait for,"—what with all that, the capitalist concern struck against by a revolutionary Union can not choose but yield ground. To-day, the capitalist cuts deeply into his profits with the bribes he flings at his labor-lieutenants. The power of these being gone or crippled, the capitalist will throw tubs to the whale of the class-conscious Union on strike. What it would be absurd for the "pure and simple" Union to demand—a higher price than the market quotations for the merchandise labor-power—becomes supremely sound on the lips of a body that is organized for the purpose of wiping the human being "Workingman" clean of the merchandise smudge that capitalism smears him with; and the demand is withal supremely sane when made by a body, the revolutionary spirit of whose organization brings the rest of the wage slaves into its fold, instead of barring them out, as the "pure and simple" Union does, and thereby challenging and urging them to break its strike. The stream of the wealth that now flows into the private channels of the fakir's pockets, and only works a corrupting, would be turned into the channels of the rank and file's pockets, and would have a stimulating effect. But in order to accomplish this end, the economic organization must, indeed, be a Union of the Working Class.

The lures in the path of the workingman, tending to draw him from the direct forthright, are so numerous that, at first blush, it would seem next to impossible to draw the Working Class in to a revolutionary Union and keep them there. These lures rise of themselves like will-o'-the-wisps from the surrounding quagmires of Capitalism, and the agencies of the capitalist class are ever on the alert to raise additional ones, either for the general purpose of fettering him in the ignorance of his class condition, or for the specific purpose of exploiting him politically, or for the purpose of leading him off the scent when he is in hot pursuit of the oppressor—on the same principle that bull-fighters draw the enraged animal aside by fluttering a disturbing rag before his eyes when he crowds one of their companions too closely. How is the workingman, the hard-worked, tired-minded workingman to acquire the vast knowledge, that, at first blush, it would seem one must have in order to guard him against these innumerable lures? It is an error that the knowledge need be so vast. Providence has vouchsafed to the Working Class the boon that it denied to the tyrant of old, who prayed that his enemies may have but one neck that he may cut them all off at one blow of his sword. No separate information is needed to cut off the head of each separate lure as it rises. Innumerable as these lures be, they all stand on one neck—the wage-slave condition of the workingman.

The knowledge that he is a merchandise in the world's market, that the price of his merchandise is bound to decline by reason of the increase in the supply, due to the private ownership of the ever improving social tool that his class needs to work with; the knowledge, accordingly, that wages are the workingman's chain, that the size of his chain is bound to shrink and shrink,—that knowledge is simple and easy enough to acquire. It points directly to the path he must strike—the path that shall place the social mechanism of production in the hands of his class, that trains him to strike the blow that will strike off his chains as a wage slave, and that leads him to no effort that does not actually look in that direction; it, accordingly, points to the structure of economic organization that alone can secure his emancipation—the Union that plants itself upon these principles; that, as a consequence, embraces his whole class; and that, as a further consequence, jointly strikes at the ballot box, under the device of the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class, while it drills his own class into the body requisite to make that ballot good. Obviously, such a Union is structurally different from the "pure and simple" Union. No lures can prevail against it: their heads are cut off automatically as fast as they rise. Even industrialism, superior as it is in possibilities to craftism, would not of and by itself fill the bill. The form without the essence would be no real improvement.

Upon all these matters I believe no serious difference of opinion will be found among us. Should the Chicago convention fall short of this standard—a fear that the Manifesto calling the convention does not justify—then all that convention would accomplish would be to justify the forecast that the hierarchical line of succession, which may be said to have started with Terence V. Powderly, will not close with Samuel Gompers. The dove will have returned back

into the Ark with the message that land is not yet in sight above the waters. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation should forthwith withdraw.

But there is another line of thought that must be considered by us—a line of thought without clearness upon which, we would all be very much at sea. The line of thought that I have in mind is certainly upon your minds also. It is the line of thought suggested by that clause of the Manifesto which declares that the proposed new Union "should be established as the economic organization of the Working Class WITHOUT AFFILIATION WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY."

When the S. T. & L. A. was organized there was but one political party that flew the colors of Socialism—the Socialist Labor Party; the S. T. & L. A. affiliated itself with the S. L. P. Since then, another party has risen which, although it sails under three different names, everywhere flies the colors of Socialism. We know what that party is: its foundation, in so far as it has any, is the A. F. of L., whose emblem, the Arm with the Torch, it instinctively and even deliberately adopted; its policy is "possibilism", which means log-rolling with fakirism on the economic, and, consequently, with capitalist candidates and principles on the political field—and it has bravely lived up to its policy; its press resembles a row of fishermen, each with his private line in the waters of the Labor Movement fishing for private gain; its principles vary according to latitude and longitude; its vote is largely typified by the Wichita, Kans., "Social Ethics", which preaches, not even bourgeois radicalism, but downright populism; another portion of its vote is pronouncedly "radical bourgeois";—in other words and to sum up, it is a drift-sand party, with no reason of being in America, bound to be scattered by the logic of events, and already seen to-day in a wild turmoil of dissension, with its vote collapsing almost everywhere, and bearing out what I stated last summer in my report to the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress that it "may be said to have fairly entered upon its period of dissolution" after the stand that the placemen and journalistic beneficiaries of the A. F. of L. in its last national convention compelled it to take. We know all that; but all is not said when that is said. A perceptible number of the element that that party drew to itself—whether the number be one-fourth or one-eighth of its vote—joined it in the belief, not only that it was really a party of revolutionary Socialism, but that its methods were superior to those of the S. L. P. and, consequently, would sooner lead to victory; that element was attracted wholly by Eugene V. Debs with his favorable record for "Union Smashing" attempted against the fossil Brotherhoods of railroad workers; that element honestly and seriously wants Socialism; that element would be gladly welcomed in the ranks of the S. L. P.;—and that element is learning as fast. What, in view of these facts—I consider them facts—is the "treatment" applicable to the case?

I do not consider that there is one chance in a thousand of the Chicago convention's pronouncing for the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party. Should that fraction of a chance in a thousand happen, then, of course, there would be nothing for the delegation of the S. T. & L. A. to do but withdraw, and continue its independent stand until greater clearness shall prevail. But what as to the S. L. P.?

I am of the opinion that a motion to endorse the S. L. P. would be ill advised—it would be a challenge to a conflict with the only element in the said S. P. upon which the Socialist Movement can be safely built, the Working Class element—an element that is drawing nearer to us over the only bridge over which the Socialist forces in the land can march towards unity—the bridge of the class-conscious, revolutionary economic organization, of which our own S. T. & L. A., on one side of the stream, and the A. L. U., on the other, may be considered the piers. Consequently, if I am a member of your delegation to Chicago I shall not make such a motion.

Should such a motion come from any other quarter, I would deplore it; I would oppose it. I would oppose it for the reason just stated, and for the further reason that, even if such a motion prevailed, it could not be the result of mature thought.—Healthy fruit does not ripen quite so fast.

But there is a third, and more important reason that guides me on this head.—An act of "endorsement", a "pronouncement in favor", by one body in the Labor Movement towards another on such matters, is an act of SELF-JUSTIFICATION. It is an act, not so much of approval for the benefit of the other, as it is an ATTESTATION OF THE APPROVER'S OWN TITLE TO A PEACE IN THE CAMP OF THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT. Now, then, when the Union, that the Manifesto jus-

tifies the expectation of seeing issue from the Chicago convention, is actually and finally born in the land, then the fact will be an evidence that the Labor Movement of America has reached that ripeness when, no longer the economic must justify itself to the political, but THE POLITICAL MUST JUSTIFY ITSELF TO THE ECONOMIC BRANCH OF THE MOVEMENT. It will be the evidence of the accomplishment, in the womb of the Movement, of a revolution akin to that which takes place in the mother's womb at about the seventh month of gestation, when the fetus, until then feet down, is by the law of gravitation turned around, head down, preparatorily to that next and final revolution that consists in birth. A Union such as America demands, will rather be the bar before which political organizations, that claim to be of Labor, will be summoned to justify THEIR existence;—nor will such a Union's decree in the matter be of doubtful weight; it is the only guarantee imaginable in political America against the decoy-duck political parties of Labor that everybody knows one capitalist party has periodically set up against the other: it is the only guarantee against the ever threatening danger of the centrifugal force, that may cause the non-wage-slave element—which will inevitably crowd into the political branch of the Labor Movement—to yield to the ambitious and self-seeking designs that they bring along with them from their class, and split into rival political factions: it is the only guarantee for a united political vanguard of Labor. In short, the crude days when the S. T. & L. A. was compelled to make the demonstration of endorsing a political party will be past. Thenceforth it will be the political branch of the Movement that will be called upon to pronounce itself clearly, and by its pronouncement attest its title to the post of trust as the vanguard of the Labor Movement, or stand branded and collapse.

That this theory is founded upon experience may be gathered from two salient facts—for one thing, the S. L. P., hounded and traduced by the Labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class from one end of the country to the other, has proved itself indestructible, even in point of votes, and its untirred press—the largest of any in the political field, larger, in fact, than all the others put together—has continued its work with unabated, aye, with increasing effectiveness; for the other, the S. P., while denying the principle that a political organization, which claims to be of Socialism, is a reflex of some kind of economic organization, has been forced to render homage to the principle by seeking, however unsuccessfully, to conceal its Civic-Federalized A. F. of L. material foundation, and is now seen crumbling together with its base.

If the Union, which, it is to be expected, will be born at Chicago next June, is the ripened Union that the American Labor Movement demands, it will be thoroughly alive to the responsibility of its body towards the Labor Movement of the land. If, on the other hand, expectations are deceived, why bother about the "endorsement"?

There is just one consideration that may be made against the idea of the S. T. & L. A. going up in a new national Union "affiliated with no political party"—always, of course, supposing that the Union that will rise in Chicago will be what the Manifesto justifies the expectation of its being. That consideration is that the S. T. & L. A. endorsement of the S. L. P. will be dropped. That consideration is, however, purely sentimental. A thousand to one, the S. P. will be dumped at Chicago. In going up in the new Union, the A. L. U. does dump the S. P., alias S. D. P., alias P. O. P. In fact, it has dumped the thing already, by again and again pronouncing it a "scab-herding" concern, and proving the charge. It is otherwise with the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. Never did the S. L. P. give the S. T. & L. A. cause for any such charge; never was any such charge made by it. By going up in the expected new Union, "without affiliation with any political party", the S. T. & L. A. element does not dump the S. L. P.; it preserves for the S. L. P. all its respect, admiration and enthusiasm; it simply joins the revolution that I have pointed out above as indicative of a long step forward in the Labor Movement of the land.

These are my views in the matter; I have expressed them fully, and I hope clearly. Should they be substantially yours, I shall feel proud to receive your mandate as a member of your delegation to the Chicago convention. If, however, in any important respect, your views differ from mine, then I must request you, in justice to myself and to you, to drop me from the list of candidates.

Yours fraternally,

DANIEL DE LEON.

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 2, 4 and 6 New Road Street,

TO RAILWAY WORKERS

Fellow workers of the Railway Industry of Greater New York:—The object of this circular is to make clear to you the situation that obtains in our industry, the methods which we are adopting to cope with it, and the course which we must pursue in order to bring about an improvement of the conditions under which the Railway Workers of Greater New York are laboring.

Our organization, the United Railway Workers of Greater New York, as you already know, was born of the Interborough strike, and profiting by past experiences we are proceeding along the only lines through which the men in our industry can acquire and maintain the enormous strength and power which is theirs to command just as soon as they realize how easily and effectively it can be wielded. That this end can and will be accomplished we are confident, and the more rapidly the railway workers join in the effort the more easily it can be attained.

To review the situation it is necessary to go back to the founding of our organization which came of our attempt to prevent the collapse of the strike on the "L" and Subway lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. When we took hold of the strike the situation as far as the strike was concerned, was practically a forlorn hope. The local joint executive committee under the leadership of Jencks, Pepper, et al., had not only failed to lay out a plan of campaign for the great body of enthusiastic strikers who had come out in hope of being guided to victory, but it had deliberately permitted the men to become demoralized, had scattered them by giving up the meeting places and had absolutely refused to lay before them a proposition by which the strike could have been made a success. Thus, it was that when the most active of those who revolted against such treachery tried to pull the strikers together to carry on the fight with the vigor which should have characterized it from the start, the bulk of the strikers who had become discouraged and disgusted, could not be reached at all. The lists of names were in possession of the traitorous officers who had played us false and whatever funds the organization had were in the same hands.

Determined, however, and undaunted by all these obstacles, we re-organized, formed the United Railway Workers of Greater New York, and proceeded to enroll all who could be reached. We at once set to work to do, on as large a scale as our numbers would permit, what should have been done on a much bigger scale in the beginning. Starting with a few dollars borrowed from S. T. & L. A. men, we hired halls, had literature printed, sent some men out collecting funds, others distributing leaflets and still others to get a line on the sentiments of those who had been compelled by necessity to return to work. The financial statement which we are giving to those whose names we have enrolled will show the amount of funds collected and the disposition made of the money. Owing to the general impression that the strike had gone down in defeat, it was difficult to obtain any considerable amount.

We soon found that to attempt to immediately renew the strike by asking those who had returned but were disgusted with the almost unbearable treatment accorded them by the Interborough officials, to again come out, would only end in disaster and further demoralization. Our course was then plain, namely, to get what funds we could to enable us to carry on our work and to assist those faithful workers among our enrolled men who were in dire need of financial aid, and to proceed with the organization of all the Railway Workers into one grand body, get in a position to publish a Railway Workers' Journal which would publish our grievances, expose official oppression and educate the workers in our industry along correct lines leading to solidarity and effective action, and prepare to as soon as possible present a solid front to the railway corporations of Greater New York and give them the alternative of giving us better conditions or having every wheel in the city tied up at once.

The workers on the railways of

New York can do all this. In fact they must do it, or be reduced to greater slavery, and more degrading conditions than they now bear. And that they will do it is proven by the progress our organization is making among them.

When the Interborough employees struck on March 7, they were filled with high hopes of winning a speedy victory. There were plenty of grievances in every department and the demands made were but slight. The men were united and struck nobly. They had every right to strike and should have won. What followed is now history. Not only did the newspapers, with the sole exception of the Daily People, lie viciously about us and the city government send its police to help the strike breakers do our work, but our national officers refused to support us and, as in the case of Stone, of the B. of L. E., actually denounced us. Our local officers fooled and betrayed us and the result was demoralization and defeat.

Our organizations went on the rocks. The motorman's card is now a receipt for an insurance premium, and the Amalgamated Association has died a natural death. An alleged financial statement submitted to eighty of the Amalgamated members by Madden, Pickett, Popper, et al., at a snap gathering in Colonial Hall on Tuesday, April 11, showed that there was but \$344 of its funds left and this was then and there divided up among those present—exit Amalgamated. Now, the corporations, particularly the Interborough, think they have us where they want us; they imagine that our spirit is broken and that they can keep us disunited. But they are mistaken. We are not children nor cowards to be frightened by a temporary setback. On the contrary, we find the railway men of the city in full sympathy with the plans and methods of the United Railway Workers. We find them expressing confidence in the honesty, integrity and fighting spirit of the men of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, who are doing so much to assist our efforts and in the two officers of the United Railway Workers, Samuel French, President, and E. J. Rozelle, Financial Secretary, who have been entrusted with the safeguarding of the lists of membership. It may be here added that the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance at its last meeting passed a vote of confidence in these two men deciding to permit them to keep secret even from the General Executive Board all such information as, for the protection of the members, should be carefully guarded until the time is ripe for welding these members into one strong body.

Everywhere our fellow-workers on the roads admit the need of rapidly organizing into one great body that will include not only trainmen and motormen, but all the gatemen, ticket choppers, agents, platform men, porters, lamp men, car cleaners, repairers, trackmen, ironworkers, switchmen, electricians, power house employees, clerks, etc.; in short, every employe in the industry on "L," surface or subway.

Rush the good work along, then, and join hands with those who have already enrolled. The faster we increase our numbers, the more quickly we can get our Journal through which to voice our aspirations and grievances, and the more rapidly to ward the goal at which we aim. If you feel you cannot organize a group of any number up to ten, send in your application singly. As the sending of a single fifty cents initiation fee, in this way is inconvenient, an easy way would be to send two months' dues as well, making a dollar in all, and you will immediately receive a Certificate of Membership and a due card bearing stamps to show that it is paid up for two months ahead.

Let us show that we have pluck and energy. Let us prove that instead of crushing the manhood out of us, the attempts of the corporations to crow over us and cow us, have only served to make all New York Railroad Workers more determined to get together and demand our rights as men. Huston, then, and get into the ranks of the United Railway Workers of Greater New

York and make it the best and strongest and most effective union of railway workers ever organized.

On to genuine organization!
Speed the publication of a Railway Workers' Journal!
Forward to our emancipation from slavery!

Executive Committee, United Railway Workers of Greater New York, L. A. 9, S. T. & L. A.
SAMUEL FRENCH,
Chairman,
2-4-6 New Reade Street,
Residence, 397 Willis Avenue.
E. J. ROZELLE,
Financial Secretary,
Residence, 71 West 107th Street.
Headquarters, Room 7, 150 East 125th Street.

STRIKE STILL ON.

Western Federation of Miners Declares Cripple Creek Struggle Will Continue.

Denver, Colo., April 18.—The Western Federation of Miners has issued the below circular, declaring the Cripple Creek strike to be still on. The circular reads:

To all Members of Organized Labor and Those who Desire to Maintain their Honor:

The Mine Owners' Association of the Cripple Creek District, with its lawless ally, the Citizens' Alliance, have been sending out fabricated reports to the effect that the strike has been declared off by the Western Federation of Miners. This brazen lie has been batched and circulated by the same 1100 that bull-penned and deported miners, that even murdered in cold blood men who refused to yield their allegiance to the principles of the organization of which they were members.

The Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance have discovered that while thugs, gunfighters, rapists, outlaws, and convicts from the penitentiaries may be of valuable assistance to mine operators, in upholding a reign of terror, yet these debauched and depraved degenerates are practically useless in the production of dividends.

The members of the Mine Owners' Association and Citizens' Alliance have had an experience for which they have paid an awful price. The dividends of which they have boasted have been on paper and not in the vaults of banks. In their desperation they are attempting to deceive through the circulation of a lie, hoping that the old miners will return to the Cripple Creek district and once more become inmates of the mines.

The Western Federation of Miners has not declared the strike off, and never will as long as the mine operators are unfair to organized labor—as long as they continue shipping their ores to the scab mills of Colorado City, and as long as the card or blacklisting system is used to discriminate against members of the Western Federation of Miners.

Hundreds of men have been driven from their homes in the Cripple Creek district, and are still exiles from their wives and children. Many of these men bear the scars that were inflicted by the brutal orders of a Mine Owners' Association and a Citizens' Alliance. These men and their wives and children who have borne the insults and outrages of a hired soldiery, would scorn a compromise or a surrender to that "law and order" combination that revelled in a carnival of brutality, to subjugate and enslave the best blood and brawn of the Cripple Creek district.

Men of honor, of spirit, and of independence, will still the mines of the Cripple Creek district as they would a pestilence. Men who have any conception of the principles of Unionism will not be used as tools of a Mine Owners' Association to assassinate justice.

Stay away from the Cripple Creek district, and the time will come when the miner in Colorado's greatest gold camp can enjoy some of the liberty that is guaranteed to him by the law and the constitution of the State.

Anyone who goes to the Cripple Creek district and accepts employment in the mines, will be recognized as a scab by the metal miners throughout the United States and British Columbia.

Whenever the strike is declared off, or a settlement effected, an official notice will be issued from the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners.

Chas. H. Moyer, President, W. F. M.
W. D. Haywood, Sec'y-Tres., W. F. M.

N. B.—Secretaries please read this notice at meetings of the union.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Subscription price: 50 cents per year, 25 cents for six months. Address: The Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

From Henry Frueher, Member Socialist Labor Party.

Cincinnati, March 3.—There are two myopias in the labor movement. The diagnosis of the one, is its constant cry: "A political organization of the working class is enough to land us in the haven of the Socialist Republic! The economic organization is a secondary and trivial affair. We need not bother with it. It divides our energies," etc. The symptom of the other disease is, that it explains away the political organization as "secondary," "trivial," etc., and places the economic organization on top. The fact of all the matter is, to use Comrade De Leon's expression, they are both "blind in one eye." The first is a monopos on his economic eye, hence an imperfect being; the second a cyclops on his political eye.

There is a granum salis in both arguments. But to understand where the grain of truth lies we must compare these two one-eyed footsies of social science with the two unocular embryos in cosmological science. In the latter there also are two factions: first, that which holds energy is the only existing entity, the "idealists," "spiritualists," etc., and second, that which holds matter is the only thing that exists of the old school, the materialist. And lo! Like from the Olympus jumps Monism and says: "Both of you are wrong and yet both are right! But matter and energy exist, but they are an inseparable indivisible entity. The existence of one without the existence of the other, is unimaginable. We call this Monon or Oneness, Substance!"

The same happens with social Monism. It jumps between the two dualists and says: "The economic and political organizations are a Monon, one indivisible substance. One without the other is unimaginable. They are equally important, because the flesh of the one is the other's flesh and its blood the other's blood. The victory of one without the victory of the other will prove equally disastrous to those concerned therein, the proletariat! The Paris Commune will not be in it with this catastrophe! To talk of "division of energy" in this regard, is therefore, rank stupidity.

The Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance are typified in the above argumentation. They, like matter and energy, are one substance, partly manifesting itself in this form and partly in the other. Energy expended on one organization is just as important to the arrival of the Co-Operative Commonwealth as is energy expended on the other. Neither of these two bodies are "primary," nor "secondary." They are both primary and secondary.

The lack of argumentation of the above-mentioned Monon, is the sore and weak spot of the manifesto. "No affiliation with a political party" is its slogan. It takes the position, as Mr. Hagerty expressly reiterated over and over again in the Auditorium in this town, that

From John Hossack, Member of the Socialist Labor Party.

Jersey City, N. J., March 17.—The Socialist Labor Party holds that the class conscious organization of labor is alone the foundation upon which can be reared the Socialist Republic. It follows that the Party cannot ignore any effort, honest or dishonest, made by, or in the name of the working class, along economic lines. If the effort made is honest and clean, the Party must commend what in it is good and point out whatever of error it may contain. If the effort made is dishonest its tactics will show it, then the Party must condemn and expose.

If this is our position with regard to honest, but blind moves, and to dishonest schemes how much more necessary it is that the Party concern itself with the Chicago conference, the call for which, if honest, and it seems to me to be so, certainly exhibits a much to be welcomed awakening of class consciousness. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance should be represented in the conference.

Some seem to think that the results of the meeting will not come up to our expectations, and it may turn out so; then so much the worse for the other participants. No harm can come to the Socialist Labor Party, through Alliance participation. Have no fear on that score.

Should the meeting result in a class conscious organization satisfactory to us, what matters it if that organization is called by the name of Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance or by another name? The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—the stone, which the pure and simple union dominated "Socialists," rejected, will have become the corner stone of the new edifice—a glorious victory for the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

As to the endorsement of the Social-

there are such animals as "political Socialism" and "economic Socialism." And yet, mirabile dictu! Mr. Hagerty calls himself a "Marxian Socialist!" What would you call a person who believes in the existence of sphinxes, griffs, centaurs, lycanthrops, calling himself a "modern zoologist?" I should think you would say he need a psychiatric examination. The same would be true of one, who would claim that food is a secondary affair to the maintenance of human life. It is sleep and clothing that are mostly needed or vice versa. They are all indispensable.

Another miracle! Mr. Hagerty would not style the proposed union (which, by the way, is the S. T. & L. A., minus "political party"), a pure and simple affair. He does not state the reason in his contribution to The People, but I presume because Socialism (in potentia) will be allowed to be discussed and perchance even encouraged or even enforced. But what good will 1,000 years of theorizing do if we cannot get at least one year Socialism in actu? The same old difference of the Socialist Labor Party and "Socialist Party."

You can talk about the beauties of the Socialist Republic, about constant and variable capital, about the class struggle in the times of Numa Pompilius, etc., till you get blue in the face; but for Heaven's sake don't tackle such cool and practical things as trades unionism, etc. It is too radical! Laissez faire! Socialism, the science and Socialism, the propaganda, are a Monon! One without the other is utterly valueless! Remember this!

Now, what is a pure and simple affair? Is it that which clamors "no politics in the union" only? No, even that which clamors "no political party" comes under the heading of (im) pure and simple! For mere Socialism without a political party, to carry it out is null and void. They are a Monon!

Another thing! The manifesto talks about A (!) political party of Socialism. How many political parties of Socialism are there in this country? Can Mr. Hagerty or any other answer?

Lastly, I will take up the "crescendo of exclamation marks," which Mr. Hagerty says Comrade Prussak indulged in. Well, I am sorry to say I saw the amount of exclamation marks and there were not enough of them for me!

Mr. Hagerty quotes Voltaire on prodigies. Tell Voltaire if he saw this manifesto-framing galaxy, he nilly willy would have to believe in prodigies! Picture it! Think of it! Last night champions of capitalism and this morning "fighters for the working class!" Moses' wonders are not in it and the wonders of capitalism to make dollars out of human blood and tears are equally not in it!

As to the sending of delegates I would say: A chemical law teaches us that atoms of heterogeneous elements will never make a molecule. We are heterogeneous elements!

From John Hossack, Member of the Socialist Labor Party.

ist Labor Party by the new body. I cannot see that that is the all important thing. The fact that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance endorses the Socialist Labor Party, does not mean that all Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance members are compelled to vote for the Party. Not the endorsement of the Party by the union, but the endorsement of the union by the Party, that is the important thing.

Between now and the holding of the Chicago conference about three months will elapse, let us improve every day of that time by getting our trade union literature into the hands of the rank and file of the organizations represented in the call for the convention. To the extent that we perform this duty will the work of the convention be clear. Let the members of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance show themselves alive to the grand possibilities that confront them to-day, and the year 1905 may be the beginning of a new era in the history of Socialism in America.

TRADES UNIONS AND THEIR NEEDS
The Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Union No. 4 of Detroit, Mich., is holding a series of educational meetings at Beckner's Hall, corner of Antoine street and Adams avenue, on the all important topic of the day, New Trades Unionism.

Mr. Charles Erb will address the Union, May 8. Subject: Trades Unions and Their Needs.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

The New England Textile Outlook

(Continued from page 1.)

gether by bringing into existence one of collective ownership. This latter system will solve, once for all, the problem of obtaining subsistence—a problem which the wonderful machinery of the present day renders so easy of solution, did we but know enough to apply it by creating a system of ownership consistent with our collective operation of it. We know this solution is possible by these means. We also know that were the textile operatives to band together in the S. T. & L. A. and fight their economic battles with class spirit and the above facts in mind, while voting the way they struck—for the S. L. P.—the capitalists would not put the screws on when they found themselves up against the alternative of backing down or being backed off the map by a united, intelligent working class, conscious of its rights and determined to secure them. It is our obvious duty to strive hard to bring this movement about through agitation, education and organization. And in the process we cannot afford to refrain from knocking over any idols that the working class, in its failure to perceive the true inwardness of things, may have hitherto worshipped; hence our vigorous attacks upon the misleaders in our industry.

Now, to get back to present conditions. It has been stated that they are worse than ever. The writer is in possession of bundles of pay envelopes saved for the very purpose of noting the trend of wages in cotton weaving. There are eight of them representing as many successive weeks' pay for an eight-loom weaver on print cloth at 21.78 cents per cut in the year 1902. They read as follows: \$11.16, \$12.07, \$9.12, \$10.40, \$9.07, \$8.05, \$9.80, \$8.52. For 1903 the pay envelopes read: \$8.62, \$6.63, \$10.00, \$9.51, \$8.08, \$11.79, \$8.62, \$10.66, \$10.54, \$9.07, \$9.52, \$8.61, \$12.22, \$7.48, \$10.66, \$6.91, \$9.53, \$8.64, \$9.49, \$9.11, \$9.37, \$8.52, \$7.45, \$9.85, \$8.50. For 1904: \$8.22, \$9.07, \$9.58, \$9.14, \$8.58, \$5.14, \$9.57, \$10.14, \$9.11, and some during slack time that read: \$4.82, \$4.58, \$6.64, \$6.72, \$5.49. For 1905, since the "great victory" of the Douglas "settlement," the list of weekly pays for weavers on eight-loom prints at 17.33 per cut, which if put on ten-loom basis as threatened, will be reduced from ten to fifteen per cent. lower, is as follows: \$7.35, \$7.59, \$7.33, \$8.03, \$6.83, \$6.71, \$6.73, \$8.09, \$6.22, \$6.78, \$8.25, \$6.34, \$7.05, \$6.46, \$6.47, \$6.07, \$7.24, \$7.84, \$8.25, \$7.22, \$8.61, \$7.15, \$6.37, \$6.38, \$7.82, \$5.89, \$7.35, \$6.32, \$6.65, \$6.83, \$6.99, \$7.00, \$6.05.

To prove that, in addition to this reduction, it costs us more to live, one does not need to furnish exact data in these days when so much is being said and written, even in the capitalist press, on the increased cost of the necessities of life. Every housekeeper knows that five dollars does not go as far as three did a few years ago.

This is where we are after our pure and simple "victory," not to speak of the fact that scores of our best people have been victimized through the bosses being able to discriminate against them and yet be able to claim they were not violating the terms of the ambiguously worded "settlement."

Here is the wording of the "settlement" as given out by Governor Douglas and published at the time after the strike had been on for about twenty-six weeks:

"The strike to be declared off and the operatives to return to work at once. All operatives to be put to work in the mill in which they were employed when the strike began, as fast as possible, and no discrimination to be shown on account of the present strike.

MAY DAY.

(Continued from page 1.)

the world of labor. The untiring work of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party is beginning to take effect—at last, all honest thinking workingmen, are beginning to realize the great truths for which they stand. The coming Chicago industrial union convention gives evidence of the giant strides that we may hereafter expect toward S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. ideals. Therefore, comrades, friends and sympathizers, let us gather at Cooper Union on Monday, May 1, at 8 p. m., in greater numbers than ever before. Daniel De Leon, John J. Kinneally, William Carroll, James T. Hunter and others will proclaim with a greater determination than ever before the international solidarity of the working class for which the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. stand.

Those who can do so are also urged to call at the headquarters of Section New York, S. L. P., Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan, and provide themselves with handbills

up and investigate the matter of margin and submit to you my conclusion as to what average margin shall prevail on which the manufacturers shall pay a dividend of five per cent. on wages earned from the present time to April 1, 1905.

"It is agreed by both parties that the margin fixed by me shall in no way prejudice future wage schedules." This agreement is signed on behalf of the Manufacturers' Committee by Nathaniel B. Borden, chairman, and on behalf of the Fall River Textile Council by James Tansey, president.

The "margin" is figured between the cost of eight pounds of raw cotton and the selling price of forty-six yards of print cloth. The manufacturers declare it ought to be seventy-five cents in order to enable them to make a "fair profit." They are expert enough to figure their cost of production so that Douglas, even if he wanted to, would have no chance to declare it ought to be lower. The "labor" leaders were willing to have it made seventy, however.

Mention has been made of the attitude and language of the "labor" leaders in connection with the strike and "settlement."

The "labor" leaders are Secretary James Tansey and President John Kyle of the carders; Secretary Thomas O'Donnell and Vice-President Charles Lynch of the spinners; Secretary Joseph G. Jackson and President Isaac Brooks of the slanders; Secretary James Whitehead and President John Grant of the weavers; Secretary Thomas Taylor and President John S. Gardner of the loom-fixers, and John Golden and Albert Hibbert, respectively General President and General Secretary of the United Textile Workers of America.

Every one in the textile districts is so familiar with the pro-capitalist attitude of these men. Quoted expressions of theirs appeared daily in the papers during the strike and since. Of the nauseating praise of Governor Douglas, indulged in by Jackson, Golden, Hibbert, and other "flying wedge" orators, it would be a waste of space to refer to in an article as long as this. The facts presented should be sufficient for textile workers to judge these "labor" leaders by. They speak for themselves and—the fakirs.

Another point which may be referred to, and from which a lesson may be drawn, is the failure of the American Federation of Labor assessment to materialize in the manner so jubilantly expected by the dupes of pure and simpledom. This was a most bitter demonstration of the fallacy of relying upon a broken reed for support.

Some day the writer, who has facts enough to fill a volume, hopes to write a story of the textile industry and the effects of pure and simple trades unionism and capitalism upon the workers in it, which can be used to help educate his fellow workers to a knowledge of the proper course to pursue, in order to better their conditions and free themselves from wage slavery. But, for the present, this will suffice.

We, the cotton workers, are down in the mire as a result of our lack of knowledge, thanks to our treacherous misleaders. It is up to all of us to pay heed to the members of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. among us. Read their literature, organize with them, and throwing the labor fakirs from our backs, march forward to the abolition of the capitalist system which compels us to suffer what we do to-day, and accomplish our Freedom forever from wage slavery, by inaugurating the Socialist system of collective ownership.

Weaver.

announcing the demonstration, for distribution. All together, ye class conscious workers: Make this demonstration a success. Long live the International Proletariat!

DETROIT MAY DAY FESTIVAL.

An annual May Day festival has been arranged by Section Detroit, Mich., Socialist Labor Party, at Concordia Hall, corner Catherine and Antoine streets, intersection Gratiot avenue, for Saturday evening, April 29. A musical program and dancing will be the feature of the evening. Tickets, admitting gentleman and lady, 25 cents. Doors open 8 p. m.

SAN ANTONIO, ATTENTION.

May Day celebration, International Labor Day, of Section San Antonio, Socialist Labor Party, Sunday, April 30, 1905, 8 p. m., at Paul Macht's Hall, corner Market and Navarro street. Good program. Admission 10 cents.

A favorable pamphlet will be given FREE to each ticketholder attending celebration. Readers of the Weekly People are especially invited to attend.

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them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....2,068
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,564
In 1900.....34,191
In 1904.....34,172

Sons of men, awake, arise!
With the morning in your eyes,
Show your days what you can do,
Labor, conquer and subdue—
All the world belongs to you;
Sons of men, awake, arise!

Sons of men, awake, arise!
Sons of men, your hour has come,
Hearts that beat the signal drum;
Doubting and delay are past,
Fall they slow, or fall they fast,
Every foe must fall at last;

A DEVELOPMENT.

Under the above title we publish elsewhere in this issue an article that should be clipped and carefully preserved. It should be pasted in a scrap-book labeled "Sign-posts," and containing only articles of this nature. They are sign-posts to warn the Working Class against the ominous figures that are bound to arise in their midst. The article supplements and throws light upon the series of articles, published in these columns, on the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring the ten-hour law of this State unconstitutional. Finally, the article has the merit of coming, not from an adverse and prejudiced, but from a source friendly to Mr. Henry Weissmann, whose development it gives, from an officer of the Bakers' Union, who managed to secure the ten-hour law during his incumbency, to a lawyer, who managed to get the boss-bakers to put in his hands the case that was to cause the declaration of that very ten-hour law unconstitutional.

In giving his antecedents to the capitalist press, Mr. Weissmann made certain misstatements and overlooked certain items which may not be of little importance to the understanding of his career as given by himself. We shall here correct the errors and supply the deficiencies.

Mr. Weissmann did not learn the trade of bakery in Germany, as the article says. He learned the trade in a San Francisco penitentiary, where he was confined for complicity in a dynamite conspiracy. Mr. Weissmann came out a baker. His knowledge of or liking for the trade was inferior to his liking for something easier. Accordingly, with whatever knowledge of the trade he possessed as a base, he joined the bakers' organization; secured an office in it; and, about thirteen years ago, transferred the field of his activities to this city, where he became the Editor of the Bakers' Journal, and leading transactor of the bakers' business—the Fleischmann's yeast boycott among others.

Upon his arrival in New York, Mr. Weissmann sniffed around the Socialist Labor Party. The organization offered him no "field"; but he speedily drew to himself by elective affinity several members of the Party who, gifted with a scent less keen than himself, had drifted into the Party and discovered what he had scented in advance—that the "field" was not favorable for their operation. The ramshackle set of driftwood, consisting of one W. C. Owen, one John Steel, and two or three others, who had foregathered in this city from the four quarters of the world's compass, gathered around Weissmann, and the bunch set up Gompers for their patron saint. It was the first "trouble" that the Socialist Labor Party experienced in the '90's. The slogan against the Party was its Trades Union attitude. Owen, Weissmann and Steel, who became a reporter on the capitalist press, canonized the Socialist Labor Party with lampoons and with "reports" gotten up by Steel. Gompers and Gompersism was the best ideal.

Weissmann flourished under boycotts and strikes; a central body of labor which he established against the then Central Labor Federation, a body closely allied to the Socialist Labor Party, was eventually dropped as no longer needed, and Weissmann himself dropped out of the Bakers' Union, immediately blossoming forth as a boss-baker.

But Weissmann's name did not vanish from the subsequent chronicles of the Labor Movement. It appeared almost continuously as the subject of the wrath of the bakers whom he now employed. One day it appeared conspicuously in a new connection. Within the week of the day on which Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for Governor of this

State in 1898, a little lunch party was held by the candidate with two "leading representatives of Labor"—as the reports had it. Of these two "representatives of Labor," Henry Weissmann was one, the other was a gentleman whose original name was something like Karkowsky, but who is extensively known as Harry White, the then Secretary of the Garment Workers, subsequent co-member of Gompers on the Civic Federation, recently convicted of hiring scabs to break a garment workers' strike in Chicago, and finally bounced by his own organization. That was the trio at that lunch.

The latest conspicuous appearance of Weissmann in print is now. He had become a lawyer. He tells us himself, in the article referred to, that when the boss-baker Lockner was convicted in this State for violating the ten-hour law, the State Association of Master Bakers "came to him" and placed the case in his hands on an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that he took the case because the law was "unjust" and violated the principle of the "freedom of contract."

Mr. Weissmann does not state whether it was his reputation as a lawyer that, having reached the master-bakers' association, induced them to "come to him," or what was the reason and method by which they came together. Indeed, the information is unnecessary. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is, as we have shown in these columns, planted, not upon the law, but upon a finding of fact by the Court—the alleged fact that ten-hours steady work each week in a bakery establishment is not dangerous to health, an alleged fact that involves this other fact that the wages received are not incapable of restoring the life-tissue expended in such establishments, and therefore inhuman.

It was not as a lawyer but as an "expert on the bake-shop" that Mr. Weissmann helped the capitalist to stab the Working Class in the back—thus furnishing the latest justification for the attitude that the Socialist Labor Party took against him in 1892, when he and his set, with Gompers at their head, were branded and fought for what it was perfectly obvious that they were.

DOWN COMES HUMPTY-DUMPTY!

The latest fact brought out by the gas inquiry is that it makes competition impossible, not because of any legislative monopoly that it has secured, but because of what? The discovery has caused the hue-and-cry against the Gas Company to increase a thousandfold, and the loudest in the cry are the people who should know better than to make so much noise. They should have sense enough to drop flat, lie low and say nothing, and wait till the specter that they have unwittingly conjured up is once more lain. They should do so because they are all upholders of capitalism, and it is capitalism, not the Gas Company, that is hit by the bolt of the discovery in question.

The favorite answer of the mouth-pieces of capitalism to the Socialist claim that "competition" under capitalism places the workingman so helplessly handicapped in the race that he can not possibly hold his own, let alone rise, —the favorite capitalist answer to this charge is: "Pooh! pooh! Whoever wishes to work can make himself independent!" And here comes the gas inquiry and proves that even men with capital can not possibly compete with the gas company, and thus "the company is able to tyrannize over the people!"

Why do not these capitalists start their own pipes and tanks and compete? There is no law to prevent them. —They do not because, even equal capital can not compete with an amount that is already in the field and thereby is rendered a thousandfold stronger.

As impossible as it is for other capitalists to set up their competing pipes and tanks, it is for the workingman to free himself, under capitalism, from the yoke of the employer. Competition exists in theory, it is dead from a practical point. With capitalism triumphant in monopoly, it assumes the actual reins of government, and what that means, what it means to have a government of irresponsible men—responsible only to themselves, and not to the people—the gas inquiry is bringing out: fraud, false books, extortion, the shirking of taxes, the swindle of watered stocks, the perjury of paid-up capital, in short, crime that entitles the perpetrators to long terms in the penitentiary.

There is not a capitalist concern—banking houses, and railroads, and insurance companies, and factories of any kind, down to the smallest—that, if investigated, would come out clearer than the Gas Company. Investigation would show "competition" to be a by-word as far as the workingman's chances are concerned, and, as a consequence, the investigation would prove the individual capitalist rotten-ripe for the penitentiary.

Down comes the double Humpty-Dumpty of capitalist "virtue" and "competition."

JINGOISM.

Such is the exuberance of the nonsense in the Ernest Untermann "arguments," in the debate that he recently had in Chicago with a member of the Socialist Labor Party, published last week in these columns for general edification and "size-up," that there is danger of the only important thing said by the gentleman being lost sight of. The important thing lies in the passage in which he declares:

"De Leon was born upon some island in South America and, SUBJECT TO THE NATURAL INSTINCTS OF HIS RACE, would either rule or ruin."

It matters not what race Mr. Untermann has in mind as De Leon's race; nor does the childishness of Mr. Untermann's conclusion, as to the racial foundation for a "rule or ruin" instinct require notice; nor yet is De Leon himself the subject of consideration in the consideration of the passage quoted. The point that deserves attention is the fact that Mr. Untermann considers "race" a proper subject to bank a conclusion upon in a Socialist discussion, and that he does so in an obvious attempt to set up his own—the German—race as superior to that of some one else. This circumstance is of no slight importance to us in America; it has many curious features about it, but it also has features about it that the American Movement can neglect only at its own peril.

There is no virtue and there is no vice that is peculiar to any one race, and that any other race could not, or does not indulge in. Indeed, even before natural science scorned race theorists as the "astrologers of sociology," the averagely informed man made the experience that virtues as well as vices are international. The fact is pre-eminently illustrated by the universality of the vice of Jingoism: there is no nationality, or race using the term loosely, whose folklore does not indicate that, in its infancy, that particular race did not consider itself the "salt of the earth," the "elect of the Lord"; and there is no race some of whose literature, even at this present date, does not indicate that the writer considers his race "the thing." Even the general common sense of the human race has relegated the Jingo to the shelves where curios are kept that recall the infancy and barbaric period of man; and Socialist science, based upon the material facts, rejects the Jingoic presumption of any race, while Socialist morality, the reflex of the material fact, condemns the posture of the Jingo as immorally harmful. All this notwithstanding, there is a curious phenomenon that appears in our days, a phenomenon all the more curious because it appears in the Socialist camp—that phenomenon consists in the impudent presumption on the part of a certain element, that is merely a caricature of the German people, and a misfit element of the Movement in Germany, to set itself up, as Germans, as superior to all other people, and, of course, as oracles of Socialism.

We have seen the phenomenon in a bunch and in its collective hideousness in the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation—we saw its Herman Schluter declare: "We Germans speak from above down!" We saw its Alexander Jonas declare: "The American people are hopelessly stupid and corrupt!" We saw barely a year ago the paper that it issues declare that there is no safety to an English Socialist press unless controlled by "us Germans" (meaning the Jingo Volkszeitung Germans)! We have seen that element look with contempt upon any German who learned English, whereupon they would pronounce him "Americanized," meaning thereby depraved! We have seen its paper publish articles to prove that the English language is "absurd and untruthful!" Only the other day we saw its paper contain the Jingo calumny that the "Irish are corrupt to the marrow!" We have seen them pooh-pooh the idea that any but a German could understand Socialism and be trusted with teaching it!—and now Mr. Ernest Untermann attests his kinship to the Volkszeitung Corporation clowns!

Provisionally, Marx, a German himself, castigated with the club-weight of his reasoning and the trenchant Toledo blade of his satire, the absurdity of German Jingo. In America, especially in the Socialist camp, the matter is worse than absurd. It can only tend to play into the capitalist's hand by tending to keep the nationalities of the land divided; it can only tend to throw ridicule upon our German fellow-workers who are too intelligent and honorable to share such views, and who deserve better than to have their people caricatured by such arrogant and pretentious humbugs; above all, to the Socialist Movement in particular, this abcess is dangerous, the Movement's safety requires that it be lanced.

The President is hunting bears, and the Federal officials are hunting trusts. So far the bears have got the worst of it.

"The Sun" of the 19th instant printed the following:

"Without pretending that moral considerations affect their actions, the great transportation corporations of the United States are continually doing the most effective work in the cause of temperance and right living. The New Jersey Public Service Corporation will not allow its employees to spend their off time in pool rooms, and the man who is caught violating this order is discharged. The St. Louis transportation companies have a similar rule. The Chicago and Alton Railway Company prohibits its men from visiting dance halls, saloons, race tracks, or 'questionable resorts.' Mr. Charlton, the general passenger agent of the road, says that the company 'makes such rules not because they are trying to control the morals of the men, but for the purpose of safer operation of trains. Alton operating employees have got to be men of unquestionable habits, and there is no deviation from that requirement.'"

"What the Murphy movement, Father Matthew associations and the W. C. T. U. have never been able to do for sobriety and total abstinence may be brought about by the demands of modern business, which requires in every branch clear eyes, unclouded minds and steady hands."

In this paragraph, those who deny that morals are a reflex of material conditions will find considerable food for thought.

"A. M. Simons, Editor" has played us a scurry trick. We knew he was exploding, fit to snap all his buttons. A birdy told us, and we made all arrangements in advance to publish his this month's explosion under another "Explosion—More to Come." And now comes his "Review," and dashes our plans. A plentiful of an explosion, even a gallon, The People could stand, and our readers would enjoy—but a whole hogheadful! That's too much of a good thing. A little fun is permissible. But to reproduce the gentleman in the full five wide, long and closely printed pages of his prodigious "Review" to which he unanimously elected himself "Editor," and over which five expences of pages he tears wildly about like a demented demijohn—that we would not do. It would crowd out less ludicrously amusing, but much important matter.

Nevertheless, we cannot forego the sport of taking "A. M. Simons, Editor's" head in chancery, and disporting our kumkies upon his nose for just a minute. The gentleman charges De Leon with the "falshood" of stating that "the German Social Democratic Unions have continuously fought the Hirsch-Dunker unions" etc. The only falshood in the matter is the assertion, as made by "A. M. Simons, Editor." We would ask him to produce the passage. But we shall abstain. Once before, a little over five years ago, when, in another fit of mendacity and lunacy, the gentleman fabricated against us the charge that we issued a secret circular against his important self, we called upon him to produce the document; to this day there has been no response. We shall not harass the already sufficiently perturbed gentleman again with such annoying demands as to substantiate his allegations.

The People never said that the fight against the Hirsch-Dunker concerns continues. What The People did say is 'that when the Hirsch-Dunker concerns started, more than a generation ago, they were attacked, often with clubs, by the Social Democrats, and their meetings smashed more than once. The spread of the Hirsch-Dunker Unions was thus effectively checked; they were crippled, and the Social Democracy grew again; there has been no occasion since to fight them. Of course, the wide-read "A. M. Simons, Editor" has not seen any evidence of these fights during "the nearly ten years," during which he has been "a fairly close reader" of the German Socialist press. He has no further depth of information than that—10 years! As well might he deny that the Americans pommelled the British in 1777, on the ground that "for ten years he has been a fairly close reader of British and American papers," and in none does he find anything but mutual loveliness. That is a "A. M. Simons, Editor" intellectual level. Even Bohn is misrepresented, although his article appears in the same issue of the "Review." If Bohn's words, that those concerns were "smashed," are taken to mean that they were annihilated, then Bohn errs, but he could not be charged with claiming, as "A. M. Simons, Editor" charges him with doing, that the fight continues. Nowhere outside of Timboctoo do people "continuously fight" a thing that is "smashed." Moreover Bohn can only have meant that there was "smashing" done, and so there was—in days that "A. M. Simons, Editor" is too shallow to know anything about.

Mexico's trade is reported growing. Mexico's proletariat is growing, too. Trade and proletarians always grow together.

A DEVELOPMENT

Henry Weissmann, Once an Officer of the Bakers' Union, Now is Instrumental in the Abolition by Judicial Decree of Ten-Hour Law.

(From N. Y. Times, April 19.)

The New York State law making ten hours a day's work and sixty hours a week's work in bakeries was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States as the result of arguments advanced by Henry Weissmann, counsel for the master bakers of the State of New York.

This same law was passed by reason of the labors of Henry Weissmann, International Secretary of the Journeymen Bakers' Union of America.

Henry Weissmann, counsel for the master bakers and Henry Weissmann, International Secretary of the Journeymen Bakers' Union of America, are one and the same man.

"When I was young—a journeyman baker and Secretary of their National organization—I thought labor was right in all things," said Mr. Weissmann yesterday afternoon. "I was fiery and full of ideals. Later I become a master baker, and, undergoing an intellectual revolution, saw where the law which I had succeeded as a journeyman baker in having passed was unjust to the employees. I withdrew from labor circles because I was unwilling to keep on saying 'Yes' and 'Amen' to measures which were manifestly wrong."

"The fight which the master bakers have won against an arbitrary ten-hour day does not mean that they are opposed to ten hours as a working day. It means that they wish to preserve inviolate the principle of the freedom of contract, and that they object to the criminal feature which was injected into the enforcement of the law when, in 1898, it was codified as a labor law. As the legal representative of the master bakers I am free to say that if the journeymen bakers would go before the Legislature and ask for the creation of a ten-hour day by law, eliminating the criminal provisions of the measure, we would not oppose the amendment which would achieve such an end."

Mr. Weissmann is a native of Germany. He was a German baker for several years before he came to this country. On landing in America he went to San Francisco, where he pursued his trade. While there he became an active labor worker, and was at last elected International Secretary. In 1890 he came to New York as one of the editors of The Bakers' Journal. It was while he was holding this position that he became interested in the enactment of the ten-hour day law.

He went about it with skill. Dr. Rainsford was interested by him. He secured the support of Bishop Potter and the Church Association for the Advancement of Labor. The measure became a law in 1893. Then he left the journeymen bakers' organization and became a master baker. Then he went into politics. He was chosen as chief deputy to the Clerk of Kings County and was recognized as one of the Republican leaders. He held this place in 1901, 1902, and 1903. He studied law and was admitted to the bar while occupying the post.

"In November, 1901, Joseph Lochner was arrested for violating the ten-hour day law," said Mr. Weissmann yesterday. "The case went against him in Oneida County. The State Association of Master Bakers appealed, Lindsley & Mackie representing it. The Appellate Division sustained the lower court, and it was taken to the Court of Appeals. The Court of Appeals sustained the Appellate Court, Judge Parker writing the decision."

"I had been admitted to the bar in the meantime, and the master bakers came to me. I took it to the Supreme Court of the United States, associating Frank Harvey Field with me. As the law was originally passed it was primitive. At the time when I gave my energies toward passing it I did not recognize the injustice it would work."

"As I understand it, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States does not make unconstitutional the labor laws enacted for the restriction of the hours of employment on public works. As far as I can see, it has not reversed its opinion in the case of Atkins vs. the State of Kansas, rendered in 1903. That opinion was in reference to the eight-hour proviso holding in the State of Kansas, which applied to public contracts and contractors working for the State."

"In that opinion the court maintained that a State or its subdivisions, when they were themselves employers, had a right to prescribe conditions under which said work should be done, and a contractor who undertook a job for the State was bound thereby. It was read into the contract."

"In nullifying the ten-hour clause in the bakery law the Supreme Court does not undertake in any way to interfere with the police powers of the State of New York."

New York. With the exception of Section 110, which forbids any man to work more than ten hours, no matter whether he wants to or not or what he gets for overtime, the law is not changed. The sections looking to sanitary precautions stand. The punitive provisions stand in so far as their violation is concerned.

"The decision does not mean that it is unconstitutional to prescribe the hours of labor in other spheres. On railroads, for instance, the State can dictate the hours of labor on the grounds of public safety. If the health of a people is menaced the hours of toil can be set forth and insisted upon. If, however, the other sections of the labor law regarding bakers and confectionery establishments are enforced—and the decision of the Supreme Court does not check their operation—the surroundings will be so sanitary and healthful that there is no reason why, from a standpoint of health, a baker may not work twelve or fourteen hours if he be so minded. His surroundings will be all that could possibly be desired."

"The truth of the matter is I have never been in sympathy with the radicals in the labor movement. Even when I was secretary of the international association I was in favor of law which would deal with conditions as they were, and was never an advocate of measures which seemed destined to apply to the ultima thule of the ephemeral co-operative commonwealth. For this reason I was in disfavor with the radicals."

"This did not concern me then any more than it does now. I did my duty as I saw it. I confess that there is a difference in the point of view, as I saw when I became a master baker, but, even though I have succeeded in knocking out the ten-hour day for bakers, I am not against a ten-hour day. The only principle for which I contend is the right of a man to work an hour or so overtime for extra compensation if necessity arises and he needs the money and is willing to do the work."

One of the features of "municipal ownership," upon which its advocates say very little, is the investment advantages it offers to the capitalist class. Robert P. Porter recently estimated that over three thousand millions of dollars are invested by English capitalists in English municipal undertakings. "The New York Commercial" of April 22 says that "So much money has been called for in Great Britain by projects for municipal lighting, tramways and similar enterprises that a dearth of capital is disclosing itself in the London money market and has been the subject of serious concern among financiers." This rush of capitalist investors for municipal bonds is proof that the latter are considered more profitable and lucrative than other forms of capitalist investments. They pay a higher, steadier and more satisfactory rate of interest. But who pays this interest? It comes out of the hide and sweat of the workingmen employed in operation of the municipal enterprises. Look out for such municipal ownership!

"The battle of ideas" is continually being waged in the capitalist press. It consists of a continuous discussion on a wide variety of topics, mainly of a trivial nature, or when really important, from a thoroughly conventional and superficial standpoint. Considering the important and fundamental questions that are awaiting solution, one would wonder why such discussions are permitted, were it not evident that they fill space at a small cost, help sell the papers, and keep alive that absurd belief in a "free press," at a time when the press is free only to those who write in conformity with its policy, and the class interests of those in possession of it. Method in madness is not confined wholly to the characters in a Shakespearean drama—the modern press possesses a little of it, too.

The failure of profit-sharing as a means of lulling the conflicting interests of capital and labor to sleep, as recorded in Harper's Weekly by Professor Clark, recalls the Socialist prophecies of a decade or two ago, when this narcotizing panacea was the subject of much discussion. It was then pointed out that the interests of capital and labor are so conflicting and subject to the varying changes produced by industrial evolution, that profit-sharing was bound to fail in the long run, though its fascinating plausibility might assure it a certain degree of success at the start. Professor Clark shows this prophecy to have been literally fulfilled, when he attributes the failure of profit-sharing to "... the fact, namely, that it ran counter to the belligerent method and spirit of the times." Many other capitalist ideas for reconciling the irreconcilable—arbitration, for instance—will likewise soon be admitted by the orthodox professors to be failures also, because they run "counter to the belligerent method and spirit of the times." Society will then be another step nearer the real issue—the ending of the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor via Socialism.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—Those ridiculous "anti-trust," "anti-octopus" shouters!

UNCLE SAM.—They are ridiculous.

B. J.—Why, think of the increased productive powers of a trust; it is just like an improved machine. Who would go back to the hand loom or the stage coach? No one! (With increased enthusiasm.) An improved machine produces so much more wealth; so does the trust. The idiots who would "smash the trust!" they are no better than the idiots who wanted to smash the machine!

U. S.—You got that straight, none but idiots, or schemers who try to dupe the idiots, about "Smash the Trust!"

B. J.—And think of the un-Americanism—

U. S.—The what?

B. J.—The un-Americanism of such an idea as the anti-trust notion!

U. S.—"Un-Americanism!"

B. J. (festily)—Yes; un-Americanism; did you understand that?

U. S.—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—Why? Just think of such a question! Don't you see, it is "un-American"?! Why, of course, you do.

U. S.—I don't see it.

B. J.—The devil you don't! Why, man, trust-smashing simply flies in the face of the founders of this country.

U. S.—Now, at least, you have given a reason; it may be a bad one, but still a reason it is. Let's see. The founders of this country were the typical Americans, and their ways were typically "American"?

B. J.—That's it.

U. S.—I say so, too.

B. J. (smileful)—You do?

U. S.—Certainly. But preserve your smiles. Now, then, tell me, did those founders of our country work with little capital or big capital?

B. J. (beginning to look sober)—Hem! They worked with little capital.

U. S.—Each for himself?

B. J.—Yes—

U. S.—And did they produce large quantities of wealth?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—Such a thing as a single concern operating thousands of men did not exist?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—Or a big farm covering thousands of acres all under cultivation?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—And they worked with very small machinery—

B. J.—The devil take you! I see what you are driving at now.

U. S.—Cool, cool; no profanity. And can you escape from the trap? Can you escape the conclusion that it is the trust-smashers who are truly "American," while the trust upholders are the "un-American" ones?

B. J.—No, I can't. Then you, too, are a trust-smasher?

U. S.—Not much. The trust is an improved means of production; as such it is capable of being a blessing. The trouble with that improved means of production is that it is held by private holders and therefore it becomes a curse to the people. Those who want to smash it are truly "American" insofar as "Americanism" means the ways of our ancestors. If there is any honor in being over a hundred years behind the times, that honor surely belongs to the trust-smashers. But the intelligent man is not an oyster. He does not glory in immobility; on the contrary, his pride is the capacity to move onward. "Americanism" is a thing of the past. The canism in the sense of the ways of our trust, insofar as it is a means of improved production is good; we want that; and the same intelligence that shows us its excellence shows us also its defects; we shall preserve its excellency by upholding it; we shall remove its defects by nationalizing it.

B. J. (swaying backward and forward and moaning)—Oh, my "Americanism," my "Americanism!"

U. S.—Is no good, eh?

B. J.—Seems not!

U. S.—Cheer up, old fellow. The true lover of the word "American" is not he that would keep us in our national childhood; nor he who would allow himself to be humbugged by the word, as you were doing; but he who, revering the past for all that it deserves, is ready to use that past as a stepping stone for higher reaches.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN THE "GOLDEN WEST."

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Out here in California, the agricultural wage workers are up against the class struggle as fiercely as they are in any State west of the Mississippi River.

The wage slaves on the big ranches are herded like sheep in the bunk-houses. The lack of space makes it necessary to put the bunks one above another. There are as many as sixteen or eighteen wage workers in a room twenty-five to thirty feet square, with no fresh air, or only as much as comes in at the broken and badly fitting windows. The stench is fearful, as the doors have to be kept shut up all day or the hogs come in, and their presence does not improve matters.

The workers get up all the way from three to half-past four in the morning, to feed and harness their teams. Sometimes they drive all the way from six to ten miles, so that by the time they have harnessed up, it is breakfast time. After eating they go at once to the fields, and work until sundown. Then before supper they unharness their teams. After eating they have to feed and bed-down the mules, doctor sore shoulders (if there are any), scrape the sweat from the collars, and then, when all this is done, they may go to bed.

The men are fed on such coarse and unwholesome fare that a hog would look at it with suspicion.

For this class of work the wage slave receives from one dollar a day to thirty dollars a month. Isn't this a magnificent wage? and are they not free American citizens? and can't they quit? Yes, and go somewhere else where the conditions are the same or, perhaps, worse!

The respect the wage slaves are held in is on a par with the conditions they labor under. The employer generally speaks of the men as "hoboes" and "drunks" that deserve no better treatment, and that if they would save their money! (?) and not be so extravagant (?) they would not have to work very long (?) If a man lived a million years he would not then have enough to permit him to compete with organized capitalism at the present time, at a wage of one dollar a day.

California, the home of the petty bourgeois, is a very backward State. The Socialist Labor Party does very well indeed in the industrial sections, but out in the agricultural regions our growth is necessarily slow. The life of a Socialist Labor Party man on the big ranches is not a paradise. The treatment he receives is horrible, for he not only has to put up with the conditions, but with abuse, ridicule, and dirty work, done to him by some of the wage workers who are anxious to curry favor with the "boss," such are the "noble qualities" that a system of economic slavery and political chicanery breed in the breast of its victims.

Down with such conditions, ye wage slaves! Arise to a knowledge of your material interests! Get up on your feet. Be men! Join in the work for your own emancipation. You should not submit; you must fight. Join the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. You can't get any rights if you don't fight for them. The capitalist won't treat you any better for submitting. Stand firm. Read up and inform yourselves. Don't let the capitalist or his lackeys howl you down. Work on with the members of your class. Inform them on the Class Struggle. If you lose your job, what of it? Try for another. Don't get discouraged. We must win, if we show that we are determined, because our class, the workers, are in the vast majority, and in the right. Of course, we can't win in a day. It may take years, but what of that? Are we not capable of holding out for a prolonged and very hard fight? If not, we don't deserve to have anything but kicks and blows, for that is the reward of a physical and moral coward. Which do we, as a class, deserve: victory or defeat? The future will show. It rests with us. Let us make it a victory! Will you fight with or against your class?

If you fight with us, you must fight in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, for these are the only true organizations of the Working Class in this country that are always on the firing line, agitating, educating, and organizing for the fight to a finish between organized and despotic capitalism on the one hand and the Working Class on the other. The Working Class is fighting for our homes, our wives, our mothers, in short, for civilization. (When I say homes, I don't mean such "homes" as we get under capitalism.) The capitalist

is fighting to keep his stealings, to keep us slaves, in short, his fight is reactionary; he is trying to turn back and block the wheels of progress.

Long live the Social Revolution! Long live the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance!

G. W. Brooks.
Red Bluff, Tehama Co., Cal., April 14.

MAY DAY IN CANADA.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—International Labor Day, the first of May, is again nearing, and with its approach Toronto, like other cities, has its threatening labor troubles.

The bricklayers, carpenters, and builders' laborers are asking increases and agreements with the bosses. The bricklayers' increase, the bosses will grant, but an agreement they will not sign, and over the agreement portion there promises to be trouble.

The Amalgamated and Brotherhood carpenters are asking an increase, which the bosses, so far, refuse to give. There may be a conflict, although Mr. Tweed, walking delegate of the Brotherhood, and the capitalist press are doing all in their power to prevent friction. The former appeals in a humble voice to brother capital (the bosses) to remember that their interests are the carpenters' (labor's). The latter warns the carpenters and others of the building trades that they should act with moderation, remembering what harm will result to the tremendous prosperity in every line of business and the consequent loss of "public opinion" should they act rashly in demanding TOO MUCH.

What the builders' laborers intend to do is not settled. They have suffered in their strikes before from that blight of pure and simple trade autonomy, alias every trade for itself and the devil take the hindmost—and will likely suffer in the same way again, should they try to better their condition.

The Gurney Foundry Company has obtained damages against a trades union for boycotting their goods and a Mr. Banton, labor editor of the "Star," a gentleman whose knowledge along the line of working class economics is simply superb, wonders where "we"—capital and labor—are drifting in the light of such decisions, and threatens forcible resistance. If the employers, mistaking their own real strength, bolstered up by biased legal decisions (his knowledge bubbles out right here), close the door against all attempts at conciliatory methods in the settlement of disputes. Then, in spite of threatening pains and penalties, "forcible resistance will be offered, as it is in human nature to resist oppression." Never will there be forcible resistance so long as the pure and simple influence of the Bantons, Glockings, Gompers, et al., upholds the capitalist class.

The "Star" relates the fact that Italians are paying three dollars a month for enjoying the privilege of sleeping in an outhouse, and conveys the information that any one willing to invest \$7000 in an Italian boarding house could easily net \$200 per month on his investment. This is prosperity for the capitalist, for sure; but, of course, he is performing a "kindness" towards the poor wage-slave.

At present Canada is enjoying a period of "unparalleled prosperity"—for the capitalist class; and Toronto, of course, is enjoying full measure of that same prosperity. The conditions facing the wage worker of this city are anything but conducive to trips to swell the savings deposits in the banks; his wages have increased little, if any, and living is away up; a horse-stall will command eight to ten dollars readily. Prosperity-hard-times, the devil and the deep sea, that is the lot of the wage slave in this free, glorious Canada of the capitalist class (they are in the habit of saying "this Canada of ours").

J. M. R.
Toronto, Canada, April 16.

AN OPINION OF HENRY CLAY.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am at the present time reading the life of Henry Clay, one of the greatest U. S. Senate, a capitalist, of course. But men that ever occupied a seat in the he was from that standpoint, logical in all his actions. Comparing him with the present, he was tactically speaking, a Socialist Labor Party man from top to bottom. By some he is called a compromiser. To such persons, I will say read his life again, and especially do I recommend Colton's "Life of Henry Clay," to every S. L. P. man.

Clay had the same fight with Andrew Jackson that the Socialist Labor Party has with the "Socialist" party. At first his side looked very bright, but only for a short period. Then he was called a dictator. For twelve long years he strug-

gled against reaction and finally overcame that element.

My object in writing this letter is to show to the readers of The People, one of his arguments in favor of his protective measures. It follows:

"One of the greatest errors or oversights which American statesmen, averse to the protective policy, have betrayed in political economy, is perhaps shutting their eyes to the importance of artificial power in its positive influence in promoting a nation's wealth, and in its relative influence in enabling the U. S. to keep pace with rival nations, especially with Great Britain. Mr. Clay had occasion to notice, as long ago as 1824, that some British authorities estimated the machine power of Great Britain as equal to two hundred millions of men. The number of operatives to apply this machinery has never yet amounted to one million. Here, then, is a nation, with a population of some twenty-five millions, with a producing power of two hundred millions. Its capabilities of producing wealth by artificial means, is so great, that its natural power is scarcely worthy of being brought into the account. To this cause chiefly is attributed her prowess in her struggles against the colossal power of Napoleon, and her ability at that period to afford such constant and essential aid to her continental allies. One man at home did the work of two hundred, less or more. With or without allies she was able to contend against the power of France, till the victory of Waterloo gave her repose, if indeed she needed it."

From page 159, second volume.
Otto Steinboff.
Columbus, O., April 13.

WE CANNOT WHO CAN?

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In the Weekly People of February 25, a write-up of Lady Warwick appears under the caption of "Babbling Brook," in which mention is made of the "Alexandra Limp." I have heard it stated that this is due to royalty having wet nurses for their children and this, sometimes terminating in "milk-leg," is what caused the limp.

Can you throw any light on the particular case of Queen Alexandra?
Fraternally,
L. M. Gordon.

Hamilton, Canada, April 16.
BRANCH MOUNT VERNON ORGANIZED.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Branch Mt. Vernon, Section Westchester County, was permanently organized last Saturday evening, April 15th, 1905. Comrade Rudolph Katz, our State Organizer, was chosen temporary chairman, and after briefly stating the object of the meeting, the following business was transacted:

Roll call showed six members present, out of nine who were expected to attend. Three applications for membership were accepted. Comrade Paul R. H. Wegener was elected permanent Organizer and financial secretary; Comrade Fred. Marquard, recording secretary. 44 Union avenue was chosen as the regular meeting place of the branch, and meetings will be held on the second and last Tuesdays of each month. It was decided to hold a special meeting next Monday evening, April 24, at 8 p. m. We expect to accept the applications of five new members at the special meeting.

The comrades present all expressed the opinion that we shall set the pace for the rest of the county branches now forming, or already organized, and we expect soon to assist The People with a lavish hand.

Meeting adjourned.
Fraternally Yours,
Paul R. H. Wegener,
Organizer and Fin. Sec.
Mount Vernon, N. Y., April 15.

A GROWING REALIZATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed you will find P. O. order, for which send me the Daily People for as long as that will pay.

I have been a member of the Socialist party for the past seven years, but now realize that they are socialistic in name only. Their aim is to get votes on any pretense. I would like to have you give me the address of the Socialist Labor Party Section in Chicago, that I may visit it.

Yours,
G. F. Slater, M. D.
Chicago, Ill., April 13.

WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE THAT THEY DID DO SO.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—At a "lecture" given by the "Socialist" party of Oklahoma City, a luminary of said party asserted that the "Socialist" party had sent \$5000 to the Socialist Revolutionary party of Russia.

Is this a fact? I want to ascertain this.

P. K.
Hutchinson, Kans., April 15.

ADDRESS WANTED.

The present address is desired of Al. Safford, formerly of Philadelphia. Send to Business Department, Daily and Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

A GOOD UNION MAN

He Takes Part in Practical Discussion on Wages and Politics.

(Special Correspondence.)

Toronto, Canada, April 15.—The trades union question being foremost now in the columns of The People, especially the discussion on the Chicago Manifesto, perhaps the following will be interesting to members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

I have been slaving in one of the big warehouses that is being built in the burnt district this last week, and all went smoothly till Monday, April 10, at noon hour, when the walking delegates of the Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Carpenters appeared on the scene and the following took place:

Delegate of the Amalgamated—"Good day, sir. Are you a carpenter?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"That's what I make my living at."

D. of A.—"Are you a member of organized labor?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"I am."

D. of A.—"Glad to hear that. To what union do you belong?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"To the S. T. & L. A."

D. of A.—"S. T. & L. A. S-T-&L-A—would you mind telling me what that stands for?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"That stands for Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance."

D. of A. (pretending not to be wise)—"I never heard of that before. They are not affiliated with the Trades and Labor Council."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"None the worse for that."

Just then the delegate of the Brotherhood, who has just been trying to pull the wool over the eyes of a couple of carpenters on the other side of the room, steps up.

D. of A. (addressing D. of B.)—"Here is a man who belongs to the S. T. & L. A. Did you ever hear of that organization?"

D. of B. (posing, as in a thinking mood)—"S. T. & L. A. Is it connected with the American Federation of Labor?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"No; it is not. It refuses to come into the Gompers and Mitchell style of trades unions, which mislead the workers."

D. of A.—"Don't you think you ought to join a union of your trade?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"One union is enough for me to belong to (trying to draw him on), besides what has your organization ever done for the workers?"

D. of A.—"It has raised the wages and given you the eight-hour day."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Do you mean to tell me that the organizations you two men represent raised the wages of the carpenters?"

D. of A.—"Yes."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Well, if that is the case, how is it that two years ago when the carpenters struck for thirty-five cents per hour, backed by your union, that they lost?"

D. of A. (beginning to squirm)—"Well, there was a lot of emigrants arrived here at that time."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Is it not a fact that the bosses offered to compromise at thirty-two and one-half and thirty-five cents with a two-year agreement, paying the thirty-two and one-half cents per hour for the year 1903 and thirty-five cents per hour for the year 1904; and here we are still getting only thirty cents? Now, if your unions raised wages to thirty cents, as you claim, why are they not getting thirty-five cents?"

D. of B. (trying to help him out)—"Well, there was a lot not in the union and we had no control over them. But why not you come in and help us to get thirty-five cents?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"I said before that one union was enough for me; besides I refuse to pay dues to keep fellows like you walking the streets with starched collars and drawing \$18.00 and \$20.00 per week and us poor slaves working for about \$8.00 per week on the average, and glad to get it."

D. of B.—"I am working while you are sleeping."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Yes, sir, you are working the rank and file for all they are worth, making a fat living out of their dues."

D. of B. (getting sore, and who weighs about 190 pounds)—"Yes, but I think that is more than you are able to do. Your brains are in proportion to your body."

S. T. & L. A. Man (who is a small man)—"Oh, yes; you think all right. But just let me tell you, Mr. Tweed and Mr. Sanders, how much you think and what your objects are. It is this: You know very well that your pure and simple unions are of no use to the workers; and, with all your wind about us having our wages raised you know only too well that wages have not risen with the cost of living. You know that rents have been on the steady rise this four

years, and bread and all the other necessities of life are away up, making it impossible for us to make both ends meet. Yet you fellows prate about your organizations bettering our conditions with its no politics; yet at election time we see you fellows on the platforms of the Grit or Tory parties, or else on little junketing trips to the Parliament buildings, trying to nurse yourselves into nice Government jobs like Bob Glocking or Dan O'Donohue. Oh, no, old man, you are not going to force or coerce me into your unions and I'll make you recognize my card of the S. T. & L. A."

D. of B. (turning to D. of A., and feeling very bitter)—"Come on; there is no use arguing, that fellow is a pimp." S. T. & L. A. Man—"When you labor fakirs cannot convince with your lies, you resort to abuse."

Exit fakirs.

A pure and simpler standing near butted in.

P. and S.—"Don't you believe in organized labor?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Yes; I believe in organizing on proper lines; that is, along the lines of the class struggle. The S. T. & L. A. is a Socialist union based on class lines, not on craft lines, and teaching its members to vote straight; which is easier than the strike and boycott, and more effective."

P. and S. (who is an Englishman)—"Yes, we in England, have elected labor men to Parliament, Kier Hardie, Burns, etc., and the Socialists are all right."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Yes, so I believe, and after you had elected men of such type as Hardie and Burns, they betrayed the workers, as Burns did, when the miners in one of the mining centers were out on strike and the militia was sent against them and Burns sanctioned the act."

P. and S. closes like a clam; but just then the D. of A. appears, accompanied by the shop steward, who holds in his hand an application blank.

Shop Steward—"Will you fill out this application, as I am led to believe that you are not a member of the Brotherhood or Amalgamated?"

S. T. & L. A. Man—"No; I said before that I would refuse to join such unions."

S. S.—"Then you need not start to work at one o'clock."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Who gave you authority to tell me not to start? I intend to work right on."

S. S.—"Then if you start these men will not work with you." (Turning to men): "Now, men, don't you start nor work with him."

S. T. & L. A. Man—"Now, young man, just you fade away. When you can work a bluff like that on the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, it will be a very cold day."

Just then the whistle blew and all hands turned to put in another four hours. I guess ten or fifteen men listened to the discussion, and on walking up to where our tools lay, one big tall fellow stepped up beside me and said: "Young man, you gave them fellows the best dressing down they ever got, and what you told them is what I have been thinking for a long time."

Now, as I was going to take part in the discussion on the Manifesto, until this incident happened, I thought it would be more interesting to relate, but I will conclude by saying, by all means send delegates to the Chicago convention in June.

Chas. A. V. Kemp,
Member S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P.

SPECIAL FUND.

As per circular letter of September 3, 1901:

Previously acknowledged.....	\$9,594.34
Section Bridgeport, Conn.....	2.00
C. Becker, Baltimore, Md.....	1.00
T. Meyer, Baltimore, Md.....	1.00
J. Tax, Baltimore, Md.....	.50
R. Stevens, Baltimore, Md.....	.50
G. Driebel, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
A. Schnabel Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
C. Keatner, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
Aug. Schnabel, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
W. Pietsch, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
H. Griehach, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
E. Goetsch, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
E. Wegener, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1.00
T. Horn, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
R. Babnik, Milwaukee, Wis.....	.50
F. Uhlman, Detroit, Mich.....	1.00
O. Ruckser, New York City.....	10.00
Total.....	\$9,915.84

ANOTHER "SOCIALIST" VOTE COLLAPSE.

New Haven, April 20.—Last Tuesday we held our municipal election. Our vote was 84 straight votes; some comrades received as high as 140. Last year we had 139 straight votes.

The "Socialist" party had last year 1400 and some odd. This year 800 and odd, with all of their trades union support.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

P. K., HUTCHINSON, KANS.—First, "El Socialista," Madrid, Spain; Second, "Avanti," Rome, Italy; Third, Ignaz Goldzeiter, "Mythology Among the Jews."

A. S., HELENA, MONT.—It was Senator Stewart who made the statement in the Senate, December 12 of last year, that the adulteration of food is sapping the foundation of the constitution of our people. The Heyburn bill was then before the Senate.

W. S. J., LONDON, ENG.—The Union constitutions did arrive without trouble.

B. H., COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—Impossible to answer such a question—"Under Socialism, will my economic action be governed by contract or by majority?"—A great variety of things may be meant. What do you mean by "my economic action"?

N. S. J., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—It is under capitalism that the home is destroyed, the mother torn from the child and the child torn from the mother. No need of theorizing upon that. It is a fact. And the cause thereof is the enforced poverty of the masses. That being the cause, Socialism will remove the result by removing the cause. The argument, on that head, made against Socialism, is that people will grow too fat—and that argument comes from folks who roll in fat and like it!

C. Q. V. K., BRACONDALE, CANADA.—Send it on.

F. C., CHICAGO, ILL.—Berger's attitude is, on the whole, more advanced than that of the German Social Democracy. No doubt about that; and he is right when he says so; but he is wrong when he stops short and does not add that his attitude remains infinitely behind what American conditions demand. On the other hand, the Volkszeitung Corporation is infinitely behind the press of the German Social Democracy. The exploitation of Labor is not in Germany what it is here. But imagine an article of proportionate stupidity and poisonousness as the one published by the Volkszeitung Corporation in its "Worker," declaring that it is a "wild exaggeration" that the Working Class of the land is plundered of four-fifths of its product;—imagine such article appearing in the German press, the howl against the writer would be heard around the world. The German party would not tolerate such a fusion with bourgeois thought.

T. G. H., NEW YORK.—"Freedom of Contract," "the right of the individual," "the sacredness of property"—all these and many such are venerable sentences that have done duty for Gifford Humburg these many years.

S. M., CLEVELAND, O.—The People is a "literary cat-o-nine-tails"—Bully for The People, seeing that it flays only the backs of the guilty!

G. S., DETROIT, MICH.—It now no longer matters what happens to Rockefeller's \$100,000 gift to the Board of Missionaries. The proffered gift has done its work. It caused clergymen to speak out. Their words prove that it is not the salvation of heathen souls but the nourishing of missionary bodies which is their prime consideration.

T. D., TOLEDO, O.—The so-called Socialist party press does not protect the fakirs? Here is an instance just happening. The poor cap-makers were routed in their late strike; the demand for the "closed shop" that the leaders made was signally defeated. These leaders declared that they won a victory, whereas the men had surrendered at discretion. Is it to the interest or against the interest of the fakirs to have it appear that they won? Obviously to their interest. What is the attitude of the so-called Socialist press at this juncture? Do they publish the facts? No! They either say nothing and give the fakirs' lie the right of way, or they fill up the sails of that lie by also claiming a victory—as the Volkszeitung did. The S. P. cannot afford to hostileize the fakirs.

A. L. U. ENGINEERS STRIKE.
Four engineers, consisting of a chief and three assistants, all members of Local Union 547, American Labor Union, employed at the Union Lead and Oil Works, St. Front street, Brooklyn, went out on strike last Monday morning. The works were formerly independent, and operated on the eight-hour schedule. Recently, they became the property of the white lead trust. Since the consolidation, a new chief was installed, and the schedule changed from 8 to 12 hours a day. It was against this lengthening of hours, displacement of labor and low-

H. B., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—We never saw Mr. Jay George. Don't know the man. Never heard of him. He is an impostor when he claims to know us.

P. T. T., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—"Daring!" "Too daring!"—Is it too daring to attack the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class? You seem not to realize what conclusion that inevitably leads to. The capitalist class is infinitely more strongly entrenched than the fakirs. If it is "too daring" to attack the fakirs, then it must be foolhardiness to attack the capitalist.—Consequently a party of Socialism had better throw up the sponge.

B. F., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The Business Manager (and he is supreme in such matters) informs us that he will not be able to start the publication of the next Eugene Sue story in the Daily until Monday, May 1. It is all ready for him. It is entitled "Carlovingian Coins, or the Daughters of Charlemagne." It follows upon the "Abbatial Crosier." We have the manuscript translations of four other stories ready but not type-written. Could you undertake the job of at least one—the one that follows upon "Carlovingian Coins"? Another comrade type-wrote that.

B. F., TOLEDO, O.—It is by reason of the use-value quality of Labor that the capitalist makes his profits. Even if he paid for Labor at its exchange value, he would make a profit—the use-value of Labor being the quality of yielding more wealth than its exchange value. But the capitalist purchases Labor below its exchange value. The supply is so far above the demand, that the price of Labor falls considerably below its exchange value.

D. A., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—First, as above to B. F., Brooklyn.

Second, only three of the Eugene Sue stories deal with conditions under the Roman Empire—the second, third and fourth. The fourth is the Silver Cross which is already in the book market. We have the second and third ready in manuscript, but they will not be reached for some time. The plan is first to continue the stories serially from the eighth (the Abbatial Crosier) down to the fifteenth (Joan of Arc) inclusive. Of this serial two are already in book form, the eleventh (Infant Skull) and twelfth (Pilgrim Shell) while the fourteenth (Iron Trevel) has already appeared in the Daily and, together with the eighth (Abbatial Crosier) is awaiting publication in book form. There, accordingly remain, of the serial eighth to fifteenth, only four—the ninth "Carlovingian Coins", the 10th "The Iron Arrow-Head", the thirteenth "The Iron Princess", and the fifteenth "Joan of Arc." We shall then start back, beginning with the second (the first The Gold Sickle already is out) and finish the job.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS EVERYWHERE.—Continuing sending preambles and constitutions of your Unions to this office. As full a set as possible is wanted.

TO CONTRIBUTORS ON CHICAGO MANIFESTO.—Received and not yet published in Daily: Western Federation of Miners; S. B. C., Sand Lake, Mich.

C. A. L., ROCHESTER, N. Y.; A. L., SHEBOYGAN, WIS.; R. C., NEW YORK; M. H. DENVER, COLO.; A. T. L., LOUISVILLE, KY.; C. R. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.; W. S. C., NEW YORK; H. R. S., GUTHRIE, OKLA.; P. C. O., TOPEKA, KANS.; V. M., DENVER, COLO.; A. S. E., COFFEVILLE, KANS.; T. A., HARTFORD, CT.; "500 KING", DULUTH, MINN.; S. P., LINCOLN, NEB.; J. V. O., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; A. N., CHICAGO, ILL.; P. B. L., CLINTON, IA.; F. B. W., NEW YORK; H. C. BRADFORD, PA.; R. B., FALL RIVER, MASS.—Matter received.

ering of wages that the engineers struck. Police are stationed about the works in the interest of the trust, of course.

The striking American Labor Union engineers at the Union Lead and Paint Works, 81 Front street, Brooklyn, reported that the place of chief engineer is now occupied by a member of International Union of Steam Engineers, Local No. 20, connected with Gompers's American Federation of Labor.

